DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 264 160 SO 016 898

AUTHOR Gill, Margaret; Massiah, Joycelin
TITLE Women, Work and Development. Women in the Caribbean Project, Volume 6.
INSTITUTION University of the West Indies, Cave Hill (Barbados). Inst. of Social and Economic Research.
PUB DATE 84
NOTE 149p.; For related volumes, see SO 016 894-897.
AVAILABLE FROM Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, P.O. Box 64, Bridgetown, Barbados.
PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Information Analyses (070)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Cultural Influences; *Economic Development; Economic Status; *Employed Women; *Employment; *Females; Foreign Countries; Models; Quality of Life; Sex Discrimination; *Sex Role; Social Class; Social Indicators
IDENTIFIERS Barbados; *Caribbean

ABSTRACT

One of a series emanating from a three-year project concerned with the role of women in the English-speaking Caribbean, this publication examines women's work in the Caribbean. The project's purpose is to establish a data base for teaching, research, and planning purposes and to develop guidelines for a cohesive social policy that recognizes women's needs and draws on their skills and talents for program planning and execution. Following an introduction by Patricia Anderson, there are two papers. The first paper looks at "Woman, Work and Development: Barbados, 1946-1970" (Margaret Gill). Discussed is the question of the interrelationships between economic structures and cultural patterns, as they affect the status of women in the Caribbean and as they are themselves utilized by women in the attempt to improve their position. The second paper, "Indicators of Women in Development: A Preliminary Framework for the Caribbean" (Joycelin Massiah), suggests the components of an integrated model of social indicators that can be used to assess the level of well-being of women in Caribbean societies. Quantitative data tables and references are provided. (RM)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED264160

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Joycelin Massiah

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

The Women in the Caribbean Project logo incorporates The Message by Edna Manley (Ciment fondu, 1977, Collection: Commonwealth Secretariat, London) and is used with permission.

The cover incorporates ***Returning from the field*** *by Joyce Daniel (Batik, Collection: Sarah Milner).*

Logo and cover design by Camille Parchment.

Women in the Caribbean Project

Volume 6

General Editor: Joycelin Massiah

WOMEN, WORK AND DEVELOPMENT

Margaret Gill

Joycelin Massiah

With an Introduction by Patricia Anderson

Institute of Social and Economic Research
(Eastern Caribbean)
University of the West Indies
Cave Hill, Barbados
1984

Copyright © 1984
Institute of Social and Economic Research

WOMEN IN THE CARIBBEAN PROJECT

RESEARCH PAPERS - PHASE I

VOLUME 1 - WOMEN AND THE LAW

Norma Forde - Women and the Law in the Commonwealth Caribbean

VOLUME 2 - WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

Victoria Durant-Gonzalez - The Realm of Female Familial Responsibility

Jean Jackson - Stresses Affecting Women and Their Families

Joycelin Massiah - Women Who Head Households

Dorian Powell - Network Analysis: A Suggested Model for the Study of Women and the Family in the Caribbean

(Introduction by *Hermione McKenzie*)

VOLUME 3 - WOMEN AND POLITICS

Neville Duncan and Kenneth O'Brien - Women and Politics in Barbados 1948-1981

(Introduction by *Hon. Billie Miller*)

VOLUME 4 - PERCEPTIONS OF CARIBBEAN WOMEN

Erna Brodber - Towards a Documentation of Stereotypes

(Introduction by *Merle Hodge*)

VOLUME 5 - WOMEN AND EDUCATION

Joyce Cole - Official Ideology and the Education of Women in the English-Speaking Caribbean, 1835-1945

Patricia Mohammed - Educational Attainment of Women in Trinidad and Tobago, 1946-1980

(Introduction by *Kathleen Drayton*)

VOLUME 6 - WOMEN, WORK AND DEVELOPMENT

Margaret Gill - Women, Work and Development in Barbados, 1946-1970

Joycelin Massiah - Indicators of Women in Development: A Preliminary Framework for the Caribbean

(Introduction by *Patricia Anderson*)

VOLUME 7 - FACTS AND FIGURES ABOUT WOMEN IN THE CARIBBEAN

Christine Roberts (compiler)

FOREWORD

WOMEN IN THE CARIBBEAN PROJECT

This volume is one of a series emanating from Phase I of a three-year project concerned with the Role of Women in the English-speaking Caribbean. The project involves a multi-disciplinary team of Caribbean scholars of both sexes covering the fields of Anthropology, Caribbean Literature, Demography, Sociology and Political Science drawn from the three campuses of the UWI and from the University of Guyana.

The principal objectives of the study are to establish in the region a data base for teaching, research and planning purposes and to develop guidelines for a cohesive social policy which recognizes the needs of women and draws on their skills and talents for programme planning and execution. In addition, the project is seen as a means of contributing to the general body of knowledge on the position of women in social life. Specifically, a major contribution anticipated from the project is an extension of the boundaries of the notion of development and development planning during a period of rapid social and economic change within the Caribbean region.

The study was designed in two phases. The first covered the entire region and focused on the collection and review of available documentary material as well as the conduct of a small pilot study designed to test the instruments for use in a larger field study, styled Phase II. This latter phase consisted of detailed interviews of samples of women in Barbados, Antigua, St. Vincent and Guyana. Both quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques were employed. The objective was to develop an analytic approach which would permit the linkage between basic and applied research which the research team feels is necessary for the development of relevant policy programmes for women.

The Institute wishes to record its appreciation for the assistance provided by the following persons and agencies:

The Leverhulme Trust Fund which financed Phase I of the project;

the Carnegie Foundation which financed the publication of the series of papers from Phase I of the project;

the persons, who must remain anonymous, whose invaluable comments helped to improve the quality of the papers;

the guest writers who agreed to prepare Introductions to each of the volumes in the series; and

Olive Senior who, at short notice agreed to edit the series.

Joycelin Massiah
Deputy Director
Institute of Social and Economic Research

WOMEN, WORK AND DEVELOPMENT

CONTENTS

	Page
PATRICIA ANDERSON - INTRODUCTION: WOMEN, WORK AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE CARIBBEAN	vii
MARGARET GILL - WOMEN, WORK AND DEVELOPMENT: BARBADOS 1946 - 1970	1
JOYCELIN MASSIAH - INDICATORS OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT: A PRELIMINARY FRAMEWORK FOR THE CARIBBEAN	41

Patricia Anderson

INTRODUCTION: WOMEN, WORK AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE CARIBBEAN

Studies on Women in Development in the Caribbean represent a new and growing field of research, which cannot be regarded as simply an off-shoot of the wider body of literature on women in development. During the 1970s, the women in development literature became a specialized sub-field within women's studies, as the concern with women's status was extended to focus on women's contribution to economic development and on the changing fortunes experienced by women in Third World countries as their economic structures were transformed. While studies of women in the Caribbean certainly received a stimulus from these international research trends, the growing field of Caribbean women's studies, which is exemplified by the articles in this publication, must trace its parentage to the body of social science research which has been painstakingly built over the last three decades, and which gives a distinctive and an inter-disciplinary character to this new field. The two most important influences have been sociological studies of Caribbean family structure, and the historical and demographic analyses of female economic activity. While the 'dependency school' in Caribbean economics did not deal explicitly with questions of gender,[1] the general framework is used by women's studies to describe the economic structure of the societies with which Caribbean women must deal. It is the combination of these influences which sets the study of Women in the Caribbean apart from other studies of women in development, even from the closely related literature on Women in Latin America.

In this publication, we are offered two articles which share the common objective of attempting to provide a theoretical perspective and a methodological framework for the study of Caribbean women. The paper on "Indicators of Women in Development" by Joycelin Massiah, suggests the components of an integrated model of social indicators which can be used to assess the level of well-being of women in Caribbean societies, and it provides illustrative quantitative data for this purpose. At the core of this model, is the panel of indicators which deal with the status of women, and these are sub-divided into indicators which deal with

(a) sources of livelihood

(b) emotional support and

(c) power and authority.

Proceeding from this framework, Margaret Gill's paper may be regarded as a companion work since her contribution is centrally concerned with the question of the inter-relationships between economic structures and cultural patterns, as they affect the status of women in the Caribbean, and as they are themselves utilized by women in the attempt to improve their position. It is this emphasis on the analysis of inter-sectoral relationships, expressed in both papers, which is a distinctive characteristic of the new approach. It is clearly summarized in Massiah's concluding remark that the goal of development policy, and of the indicator framework is to recognize that the inter-relationships between social and economic sectors transcend the conventional sectoral components, both at the aggregate and the micro-level. She notes: "the particular texture of a society is reflective of the patterns of these inter-relationships among the various target groups". In the same vein, Margaret Gill suggests that a more fruitful approach to studying women's status would be to analyse the set of economic and political relationships through which women interact with society, to determine how and why these relationships are maintained, and how women react with them.

In both of the works which are presented here, there is the recognition that the economic structures of Caribbean societies, and their dependent relationship to the advanced capitalist economies, constitute serious constraints on the improvement of women's status. In order to delineate these characteristics, Massiah adopts those dependency indicators which are suggested by Patrick Emmanuel [7] which relate to size, to the degree of plantation economy domination and to levels of economic dependency. Gill further argues that the increased dependency of developing countries on developed countries, is necessary for the accumulation of international capital, and that the high unemployment and resultant poverty of the Caribbean societies is similarly necessary for the accumulation of local capital. From this perspective, she observes that the concern with the integration of women in development, as it is popularly expressed in the language of development planning, raises the question of the extent to which men are themselves integrated in the process. In her argument lies the case for a broader class analysis, which would show the ways in which both men and women, the working poor of Third World countries, are systematically excluded from the benefits of the development process. As noted in Massiah's opening comments, the problems of Caribbean women, like those of their menfolk, are inseparable from the wider problems of societies concerned with issues of poverty, unemployment and dependency.

One of the benefits which this theoretical perspective provides, is a healthy scepticism with development measures which express a concern with equity for women but which narrowly define equity as equality of participation of the sexes in all areas of benefit. Because both sexes are subject to disadvantage, Gill argues that within the present economic context, the concern with equality is anomalous. Massiah, on the other hand, shows that as a descriptive measure of sexual differentiation, it is still useful to employ indicators such as the proportion of females in particular categories, or to use the summary index of dissimilarity to compare the distribution of each sex among particular categories, such as those based on education, occupation, income or industry. In my own view, the question of relative disadvantage should be explicitly dealt with through examining the excess allocation of women to the more disadvantaged economic and social categories, and this may be summarized through simple measures, such as the index of occupational representation.[2] In addition, it is essential to extend this analysis of unemployment to examine the adequacy of employment, and here both quantitative measures and qualitative assessments are required. Labour under-utilization may be measured through a range of indicators which include low income, involuntary part-time work, unstable employment, and mismatch between occupation and education.[3] These measures of inadequate labour utilization are now of increasing importance, since current studies show that one feature of the decapitalization of industry within the advanced industrial countries is the establishment of off-shore production plants in areas like the Caribbean, and the expansion of demand for female labour in such industries as garment-production and electronics [Safa 12; Durant-Gonzalez 6].

The recognition that increased development of the capitalistic modern sector may occur concomitant with the development of the informal sector, and indeed, may be responsible for much of this sector's growth, has led in recent years not only to the criticism of the informal-sector concept, but more promisingly, has stimulated analyses of the articulation between both sectors.[4] This informal-sector model, which has been popularized by the International Labour Office, and which has been applied to Asia, Africa and some Latin American countries, does considerable violence to the reality of Caribbean economic structures through its inclusion of widely differing industries within the monolithic formal sector. On the other hand, there is a certain attractiveness to the idea of the informal sector to women's studies, since it emphasizes the fluidity, diversity and small scale, which seem to characterize so much of women's economic production. Because Margaret Gill views women's economic activity as part of

their strategies for development, she stresses the importance of taking account of the operation of the informal sector in studying Caribbean women. From the initial attempts to apply the informal sector model to Caribbean societies, it is clear that there is an urgent need to proceed beyond this two-sector model to develop a more refined conceptual framework to describe the structure of Caribbean labour markets.[5] The emphasis of such a framework would be to both clearly describe the characteristics of different segments of the labour market especially as these relate to technology, skill requirements, scale of operations and job stability and to chart the conditions under which mobility occurs between sectors.

The fact that women's economic contribution has been generally under-counted and under-valued is now widely recognized, at least since the publication of Boserup's work [3] in 1970. Comparisons of official statistics with data from small-scale studies show that this under-enumeration continues to occur.

This under-recording of women's economic contribution because of the main reliance on the CNP as an index of development, is a subject of general concern in the women-in-development literature.[6] This is particularly so because it leads to the assumption that the development process will automatically bring benefits to women. One result of this myth, Massiah notes, is the failure to develop specific income-generating programmes for women in countries where modernization has eroded their traditional economic base. In other cases, where there are specific women's programmes, there has been a heavy emphasis on welfare-oriented rather than development-oriented programmes. Massiah's observation finds considerable support in such studies as Barbara Rodgers' [11] analysis of the effects of national policies and international agency programmes in reinforcing the domestic activities of women under the rubric of income-generating programmes. For such reasons, both Massiah and Gill are doubtful about the benefits to be gained from the 'integration approach' to women in development programmes, and indeed, the question must be raised as to whether the creation of special 'women's projects' is not in itself a short-sighted and ultimately unsuccessful approach to improving women's condition. It would seem that greater benefits can be achieved through the integration of women into existing programmes by the use of such mechanisms as the enactment of fair employment legislation, special recruiting and training programmes for non-traditional occupations, and the institution of compulsory hiring ratios, such as the 60 per cent female hiring policy adopted by the Jamaican Special Employment Programme in

the mid-seventies. In certain sectors, such as particular manufacturing industries, where female labour is already preferred, the concern must be with increasing the stability of jobs, and improving the quality of work available to women, and in general, reducing the level of worker exploitation.

While the integration and protection of women in the workforce is an important goal of policy, it must nonetheless be recognized that an exclusive concern with this objective, ignores the fact that for many Caribbean women, formal participation in the labour force constitutes only one of the sources of livelihood, and may not even be the preferred alternative. The assumption that paid employment outside the home represents a higher value for Caribbean women is reflective of the Western middle-class bias which is apparent in much of existing women's studies. This bias is evident in the erroneous assumption that paid employment throughout the life-cycle, is the new phenomenon for Caribbean women that it is for white middle-class women in the U.S.A. or for Latin American women, and in the roseate view which is taken of the limited work opportunities open to the mass of working-class women. It is with regard to this first assumption, that Caribbean women's studies diverge sharply from other approaches to women in development, since the Caribbean approach is based on the clear recognition that involvement in the workforce has been a feature of women's lives in the Caribbean, at least since the plantation system was established on the basis of forced labour migration. Massiah points out that the activities of women in slave society varied with their legal status, race and position in the social scale, but that the greatest sexual segregation was imposed on the women of the white upper class. For the majority of women, therefore, sex did not present a barrier to economic activity, and the basis was laid from very early for the pattern of dual participation in domestic and extra-domestic work which still exists today. While the nature of female employment may have changed over the last century, as economic production has shifted from the canefields to the cities, the quality of work available to most women is still characterized by excessive drudgery. It is not surprising therefore that small-scale studies, such as that conducted by Christine Barrow [2] in the course of the Women in the Caribbean Project, have recorded that working class women place a very low valuation on the paid employment open to them, although they are preoccupied with establishing some degree of economic independence. The conclusion is clear that for women, there are sources of livelihood which extend beyond conventional concepts of work and labour force, and it is these which constitute the focus of Women in the Caribbean Project.

This dual involvement in domestic and non-domestic production has led some feminist scholars to suggest that the term social production should be used to describe the complex of women's activities. In advocating the use of this term, Cooper and Young [5] argue that it allows production and reproduction to be conceived of as an integrated whole, and they state:

> Thus relations of distribution and exchange within the household, and relations of power and dependence within the family affect the sexual division of labour in the workforce, and structure women's role in production, and may then reinforce women's role within the family and household.

The current studies on women in development in the Caribbean, seem somewhat shy of adopting an explicitly feminist perspective, and this may be due in part to the caution learnt with the transplanting of Western-based philosophies to the Caribbean. However, the current work on Caribbean women is already highly sensitive to the question of inter-relationships between economic and social roles, as demonstrated not only by the papers in this volume, but also by previous work on the Caribbean family. In her paper, Margaret Gill stresses the role of mothering as a female strategy, and further develops the argument that it is the high prestige which is accorded to this mothering role, and by extension to the unpaid work performed by women within the household which is responsible for the low status and remuneration attached to paid female work. While this causal relationship may not be accepted by all, it is clear that female autonomy and independence are related to the control of resources which are obtained both from marketplace activity and from the role of mother in the household. It is this acknowledgement of women's central role as mothers in the network of exchange of services and goods across working-class households which led to the early development of the concept of the matrifocal family by Raymond Smith [14, 15] and other writers. In fact, while it is often accepted that the matrifocal family is highly conducive to the persistence of segregated role relationships between conjugal partners,[7] it is not as often realised that women may have a considerable investment in the maintenance of these segregated patterns, since they assure the female of control over a particular set of resources which accrue to her in her role as mother. From this perspective, therefore, the sexual division of labour within the household is not simply an anachronism which is destined to wither away, but

is a vital factor in her control over scarce resources. The question for research must therefore be to determine the conditions under which the advantages of segregated conjugal relationships decrease to the point where they become dysfunctional to women, and are replaced by a joint pattern. The importance of this question lies not only in the relative balance of power and independence exercised by women, but is directly related to the persistence of sexual segregation in extra-domestic spheres and in the socialization of future generations of these sex-role patterns.

In summary, therefore, while the papers in this volume are offered as exploratory work, they raise a wide range of issues which must be addressed in the study of the position of women in Caribbean society. Although the long tradition of Caribbean sociology has focused on women most intensively in their domestic and familial roles, this tradition provides grounding for the examination of how these roles are intertwined with economic roles and are themselves the basis of support networks. This is clearly the logical path to follow.

Footnotes

[1] The 'dependency school' within Caribbean economies has given particular attention to the institutional aspects, especially the plantation and the multinational corporation. For a comparative analysis of Caribbean and Latin American approaches, see Norman Girvan [8].

[2] An index of occupational representation may be calculated as the proportion of all female workers in a particular occupation, divided by the proportion of all workers in that occupation. An index of unity indicates that the proportion of women in a particular occupation is the same as the proportion for all workers. Values larger than unity indicate an over-representation of females in the particular occupation, in relation to the job structure of the particulary economy.

[3] A framework for the measurement of labour utilization has been developed by Philip Hauser and Teresa Sullivan. This labour utilization framework is based on a priority scheme of first separating out from the employed labour force, those persons who are involuntary part-time workers, and, secondly, those who are full-time low income workers. The third group to be sorted out is those persons who are underemployed because their occupations are not congruent with their education levels. Those persons who are classified as adequately

utilized are consequently those who do not fall into any of the above categories. Because this accounting scheme avoids the pitfall of double-counting workers, the various categories of underemployment can be summed to provide a total index of underutilization. See Hauser [9].

[4]A description of the characteristics of the urban informal sector and a summary of the criticisms of this approach may be found in Sethuraman [13]. See also, *World Development* 6(9/10) 1978, for a collection of articles on this subject.

[5]Work has been undertaken in this direction by the present author in the analysis of the structure of the Jamaican labour force. See Anderson [1].

[6]See, for example, June Nash, "A Critique of Social Science Roles in Latin America" in [10] and Irene Tinker, "The Adverse Impact of Development on Women" in [16].

[7]The concept of segregated conjugal role-relationships was introduced by Elizabeth Bott to describe families in which there is a clearly defined division of labour into male and female tasks, and in which this organization of activities is either on a complemenatary or an independent basis. This is in contrast to the pattern of joint conjugal role-relationships in which joint activities are carried out by both partners together, or the same activity is carried out by either partner at different times. See Bott [4 Chapter 3].

References

[1] ANDERSON, Patricia, "Labour Market Segmentation and Women's Work in Jamaica", paper presented at the Eleventh International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Mexico City, September, 1983.

[2] BARROW, Christine, "Independence and Economic Vulnerablity: Finding Support Among Poor Women in Barbados" , paper presented at the Eleventh International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association, Mexico City, September, 1983.

[3] BOSERUP, Ester, *Woman's Role in Economic Development*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970.

[4] BOTT, Elizabeth, *Family and Social Network*, New York: The Free Press, 1971.

[5] COOPER, Adrienne and YOUNG, Kate, "Women in Social Production: An Annotated Bibliography", Sussex: Institute of Development Studies, 1980.

[6] DURANT-GONZALEZ, Victoria, "Export-Processing Jobs and Female Employment", paper prepared for Caribbean Technology Policy Studies, II, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1983.

[7] EMMANUEL, Patrick, "Social, Economic and Political Indicators of Change in the Caribbean: A Suggested Framework", *Social and Economic Studies*, Vol. 26 No. 3, September, 1977.

[8] GIRVAN, Norman, "The Development of Dependency Economics in the Caribbean and Latin America: Review and Comparison", *Social and Economic Studies*, Vol. 22 No. 1, March, 1973.

[9] HAUSER, Philip, "The Measurement of Labour Utilization", *Malayan Economic Review*, 10: 1-17, 1974.

[10] NASH, June, and SAFA, Helen, I., *Sex and Class in Latin America*, New York: Bergin Press, 1980.

[11] ROGERS, Barbara, *The Domestication of Women: Discrimination in Developing Societies*, London: Tavistock Publications, 1980.

[12] SAFA, Helen I., "Runaway Shops and Female Employment: The Search for Cheap Labour", *Signs*, 7(2), Winter, 1981.

[13] SETHURAMAN, S.V. (ed.), *The Urban Informal Sector in Developing Countries*, Geneva: International Labour Office, 1981.

[14] SMITH, R.T., *The Negro Family in British Guiana*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956.

[15] _____, "The Matrifocal Family" in Goody, J., (ed.), *The Character of Kinship*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1973.

[16] TINKER, I. and BRAMSEN, M., *Women and World Development*, Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1974.

WOMEN, WORK AND DEVELOPMENT: BARBADOS 1946 - 1970

Introduction

Analyses of women and development invariably point to female economically active population (EAP) figures, showing that "women suffer exclusion from the labour market in the transition from the subsistence levels to the early stages of development" [31 p.13]. These analyses observe that it is generally erroneously felt by planners that women's role in economic development has been peripheral, but they implicitly accept this when they go further to establish a relationship between the low status of women vis-à-vis men and the marginality of their role. Several explanations are offered for women's 'absence' from the labour force but these analyses all go on to recommend 'integration of women in development' as a solution to the problems of women. These problems appear to be defined as discrimination against women in the employment options open to them, resulting in their return to the domestic sphere and dependency on men, and their low status as a consequence of all this [35 p.22].

We submit that this approach to the study of women in development leads to erroneous conclusions regarding women's 'role' and 'status'. While we will bring evidence to show that labour force statistics reveal declining employment of women during the initial stages of development in Barbados, we aim to show why it cannot be inferred from this that women's 'role' in development has been peripheral and their 'status' low. Using the experiences of women in the Caribbean,we will show that cultural factors are of crucial importance in determining women's role and status.

We will show that women in the Caribbean do not have to be employed in positions other than housewife or mother to have high status, or to influence the distribution of social rewards in their favour. In addition, in their roles as 'full time' unpaid housewives or economically dependent mothers, they are crucial to development at this stage of capital accumulation, more so than in their roles as employed economic producers; just as are unemployed men in their roles as non-wage earners. Both must of necessity develop subsistence strategies in order to survive and are thus engaged in needed surplus production without being too big a drain on capital reserves.[1]

Role and status are here and throughout our study used in the original senses of the words given by anthropologist Ralph Linton in his book *The Study of Man* (1936).[2] That is, status denotes a position in life, for example, housewife

or mother, and is not to be confused with prestige which relates to the valuation attached to a particular status; while role relates to the part played in a particular position, that is, the bundle of activities associated with that position. This means that one cannot talk of a role for women in development, and any status they hold must relate to a specific set of circumstances. In fact we contend that while Caribbean women perform many roles, the number of legitimate statuses assigned to them has been limited. Moreover, this assignment is not necessarily accepted by them.

We will examine how, in failing to explain what constitutes women's self-image and the connection between their reproductive and productive roles, the interaction approach leads to recommendations which fail to address the real problems of women and which may even be counter to solutions of these. We suggest that while women are discriminated against in terms of the employment options open to them, and while in many cases this results in the ascription of low status, these problems are not exclusive to women but apply to poor men as well. In any case, they are symptoms of the deeper problems of women. These problems refer to the dilemmas of home and income, home and status and home and self-fulfilment; and these relate solely to women.

Using the approach of the Women in the Caribbean Project (WICP) which sees the study of women's access to Sources of Livelihood, Power and Authority and Emotional Support as a more integrated framework for analysing women in development, we will examine the work situation of women in Barbados during the development period 1946-1970. It is during this period just after World War II, that the technical rationalization of development planning began to be emphasized. The next two decades more or less are therefore taken to represent the transitional phase of development.

Our study does not claim to be the definitive study on women in development but it hopes to provide enough evidence for a re-examination of theories on women's role and status.

Methodology

The methodology of this study involved, first, a review of the present integration approach to women and development. It included an examination of the eight development plans and other economic surveys and reports of Barbados [2, 12]. It also involved analysis of the 1946, 1960 and 1970 censuses of population [25, 36, 37], and examination of other secondary sources analysing these [28]. In addition,

preliminary findings of the pilot survey of the Women in the Caribbean Project were used to substantiate some of our analysis [39]. This survey consisted of the study of 28 women in three territories of the Caribbean - Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad - with the use of a questionnaire designed around the three WICP themes.[3]

Integrating Women in Development

The growing interest in the impact of development planning on women which has emerged especially since 1975 (UN-declared International Women's Year) is grounded in the belief that women have not been allowed full participation in the development process. This belief is a response to the findings of studies such as Ester Boserup's landmark work, *Woman's Role in Economic Development* [16], which show that as development proceeds, the economic position held by women in society tends to diminish. It seemed clear, therefore, that the solution to this problem lay in specifying programmes for women in development plans.

This notion of 'integrating' women in development by including them through special projects and programmes has found its way into the language of development planning as the organizational mandate of women's bureaux and units to "involve low income women in development processes through their participation in economically productive activities".

However, to talk of 'integrating' women in development, to approach a diagnosis of the problems of women from the point of view of determining the extent to which they have been involved and to address this shortcoming by including them in special programmes, fails to question the soundness and hence capability of present planning, or even whether integration as defined is enough to solve the problems of women. A look at development planning in the Caribbean points to the error in this approach.

Development planning in the Caribbean with its small states, slim resources, and high levels of unemployment and structural seasonal unemployment, has been a technical exercise based on the assumption of the inability of locally and popularly sustained efforts to achieve growth. It has thus been characterized by dependency; externally in terms of dependency on foreign capital, and internally in terms of encouragement of local dependency on social welfare programmes [29 p.70].

Despite the recognition of the significance of unemployment, the attention paid to this area appears not to have gone much beyond a voiced concern, which treated a solution to unemployment as incidental to measures to encourage capital formation and industrialization. In the words of the 1955-60 plan, "government will press on with endeavours which will lead to the future economic development of the island and *all other development* must indeed be based on economic development" [3 p.2]. What little planning there was to alleviate unemployment appears to have consisted of a policy of emigration which, when examined, was shown to have reduced the employed labour force and the supply of skilled workers more than it did unemployment levels.

With regard to the employment of women, planning appears to have been restricted to the creation of a domestic service emigration policy. Joycelin Massiah states:

> an examination of available development plans reveals no effort either to create programmes designed to make better use of female labour or to encourage women to exploit such opportunities as are created for the population (in reality for men): no effort to reform the labour market recruitment system or to ensure the indefensibility of sex-stereotyping [29 p.44]

Two outcomes are likely from introducing plans for women within this context:

1. the new plans will most likely be welfare oriented which may reduce the problems of poverty somewhat but which will do nothing towards removing the larger problems of unemployment or dependency; and

2. even if there are plans which are concerned with income generation and employment these are likely to emphasize those traditional areas of female employment such as domestic service or handicrafts, which continue to be areas of low income and low status and which are peripheral to development concerns.

Nevertheless, recommendations and programmes specifying women's employment since 1975 continue to reveal this error of integration. One analyst [Dhamija 18 p.460] rightly argues: "It is essential that the importance of handicrafts and the role of women in artisanal production

be recognised in development planning". However, no amount of insistence will increase the importance of artisanal production to development unless its operation, marketing and income-earning potentials are rationalized. At present, this area of activity seems to be highly favoured by agencies promoting women in development programmes although a high incidence of success is not shown by past experience.

Generally the projects are designed and undertaken by departments of welfare and National Organization of Women (NOW) units; and funded by international agencies. Although it has been indicated that some feasibility surveys are conducted, these generally appear to be of a very informal and cursory nature. This may relate to the fact that there is generally very little evidence of specialist training in project design and implementation or marketing, among personnel involved in such activities. Our investigations nevertheless did reveal some evidence of attempts to rationalize project organization: Antigua is benefiting from the technical assistance of the Regional Handicrafts Adviser (Export Marketing Development Division, Commonwealth Secretariat in London) who is advising on the establishment of a marketing intelligence unit to which women involved in crafts will have recourse; a few short courses in small business management have been undertaken by the Community Development Division, Ministry of Welfare in St. Lucia; a food preservation project of the NOW in St. Kitts has written into it a short seminar on small business management where the women will be taught bookkeeping.

In many instances, however, projects are terminated at the end of the training programme and, to all practical intents, the ability of the women to earn an income remains unenhanced. A terse comment is made on this by a Barbadian woman in our pilot survey in response to a question on what she would like to see government and women's organizations do for women: "I would like to see these organizations help the women to get employment when they are finish being involved in a particular project" [Respondent - WICP pilot survey]. While it is not suggested that wage employment for all willing and able to work can be realistically achieved, it is important to note the limitations of handicrafts within its present framework as a viable means of achieving female full employment. As the lessons of agriculture have taught, acknowledging the importance of economic activity to development is not enough to increase its ability either to attract or retain workers.

The second consideration which will negatively affect plans to integrate women, relates to the inputs which make up the planning process. Massiah makes the point that:

> Divorced from the political processes and thus from large sections of the population, and catering mainly to the needs of those organised interest groups which have direct access to decision-making, the development plans of the region have failed to effect any fundamental economic transformation or mobilization of the societies towards national goals [29 p.95].

This means that unless the policy-making process is made more accessible to significantly greater numbers of the population, which is unlikely to happen on its own, then groups of women must organize to represent the interest of them all and, grounded in their consciousness to the specific oppressions of women in general, all women must move to have more control over the formal structures of power. The first raises difficulties relating the heterogeneity of the social category 'women', in terms of class, interests and ethnic groups, and the second, although more widespread in its effects, is problematic as it implies a global politicization of women around women's issues. However, given the recent influx of material relating to the subordination of women both in academic communities and at the popular level, this is not impossible. Of course politicization and movement for more control entail that in addition to exercising their franchise, women must also elect to hold executive office in political parties and trade unions, and represent their interests in seats in national government if they are to control the distribution of social rewards. But this too is not impossible, as all over the world increasing numbers of women are attaining positions of political power. However, a great deal still needs to be done to make political processes more accessible and generally more effective before women can aspire to widespread participation.

Thirdly, it is questioned whether 'integration' as defined is enough to solve the problems of women. Hanna Papanek [33 p.69] asks two interesting questions in this regard. Why is it, she asks, that the issue of 'women's full potential' has "suddenly become a matter of concern to planners, legislators and women themselves?" Why is it that the "accurate measurement [of women's economic and social contributions] suddenly matters to so many of us - since measurement alone has little effect on the amount and kind of work which women are doing?" She posits " a widening concern with equity" and a "concern with women's

contribution... in the face of the staggering problems of poverty/underdevelopment" as the two reasons.

Integration can then be defined in terms of:

1. Equity - (a) equality of participation of the sexes in all areas of employment, education and institutionalized power;

   (b) equality of the sexes in the distribution of social welfare;

2. Efficiency - (a) increase of scarce resources by utilization of all available resources;

   (b) increase in national productivity by full and more efficient use of available resources.

This suggests that the standard for female integration is therefore the extent to which men are integrated, that is, allowed all the benefits and opportunities afforded by society. But the question then arises whether, generally speaking, the majority of men can be said to be 'integrated' Certainly it is evident that *'some'* (a social category with a basis other than sex) are more integrated than others, given the continued unequal distribution of income, employment and other social rewards in developing countries.

Indeed, we claim that this unemployment and its resultant poverty are *necessary* for the accumulation of local capital, just as increased dependency of developing on developed countries is necessary for the accumulation of international capital. This means that within the present context, the equality argument becomes anomalous and the concern with efficiency suspect. To accomplish equality would require wider social changes than are proposed (for women as well as men); otherwise the result would be to increase the expectations of women for remunerated employment, while restricting their means to achieving it.

We suggest that integration as defined is of limited utility in solving the problems women face of acquiring income, extending their status, and achieving self-fulfilment, while being engaged in and solely responsible

for unremunerated, under-recognised, yet physically demanding and time-consuming home employment. By focusing analysis on the extent to which women have been included in development, existing theory fails to locate the sources of these problems, and places recommended solutions within structures counter-productive to their achievement. These structures represent the set of relationships (economic and political) through which women interact with society. It would seem a more fruitful approach, therefore, to determine how these relationships are constituted and maintained, why they exist in this way, and how women react with these structures, if we are to plan for their liberation from these problems.

The Reality of Women's Role in Development

Contrary to the implications of the 'integration' approach, women have always been intimately involved in, and significant contributors to, development. Unfortunately, these contributions have been inadequately recognised.

Tom Redcam, a Jamaican poet, relates one aspect of this contribution in a poem entitled "The Mothers of the City", published in 1951. He writes:

> On their feet is the mud of the roadway
> Their frocks with the dust are soiled
> Big baskets wrinkle their foreheads
> From afar have their footsteps toiled.
> .....
> Behold where the City Mothers
> Mud-daubed in the ghost grey morn
> Pour forth for the City's hunger
> The milk from the Country's breast [34 p.26]

Reporting more prosaically and no less realistically, Durant-Gonzalez in 1976 claims, "the [internal] marketing system [of Jamaica] continues to be a major part of the island's economy and women continue to play a significant role". She cites a statement made by the Minister of Marketing and Commerce in a speech to Parliament in the summer of 1975 which testifies to the importance of the women's role; "the Minister claimed that market women supply 80 per cent of the fruits and vegetables to the Jamaican people", and she adds, based on her observations, "I concur with this claim and add that it is probably a conservative estimate of the extent to which market women supply produce to the island" [19 p.53].

In Barbados, one of the areas in which women have contributed is through their remittances of foreign exchange. In 1960, 1965 and 1970 nationals residing overseas pumped $6.9m, $7.3m and $10.39m, respectively, into the Barbadian economy [7, 9, 11]. Although these statistics are undifferentiated by sex, we believe women contributed significantly to the figures quoted since they were the majority of emigrants during this period.

These claims of women's economic significance are not confined to the Caribbean. Teresa Figueroa, writing on Latin America, says

> the definition of working population applied in the collection of employment statistics, fails to record a number of 'economic' activities currently undertaken by women. She cites the example of the indigenous woman farmer of Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and Mexico, whose trading activities - such as sale of farm products, and handicrafts in rural and urban markets - frequently *provide the major source of family income*. Such a market woman also brings back to her local area manufactured goods which she sells in her own community; thus, she is an active agent of social change yet is not included in the labour force statistics: (My emphasis) [21 p.46].

Tinker records that in Africa, "women are reported to be doing 60-80 per cent of the work in the fields and working up to 16 hours a day during the planting season, [although] statistics do not show [them] working" [35 p.23].

Of major concern here is the fact that a significant part of women's actual economic contribution goes unrecorded in national statistics and it is on the basis of these statistics that development plans are devised. In addition, as Tinker further argues, even where recognition of women's contribution is taken as an objective, it is seriously inhibited by 'mythical assumptions' inherent in the statistics:

(a) 'work is performed for money;

(b) work is located only in the modern sector'.

"Thus", she concludes, "the U.S. Department of Labor can issue a statement saying that in Africa only 5 per cent of women work!" [35 p.23].

To argue against the assumption 'work is performed for money', raises questions regarding what should be excluded from the definition of work; for example, how to treat jobs done for oneself, and whether to include child-bearing and child-caring functions. Then too there is the question whether it is even *desirable* to evaluate work on a basis other than monetary.

In suggesting that this first mythical assumption prevents the recording of women's contribution, Tinker implies that its destruction would facilitate this recording. But we suggest that it is precisely because this work is not done for money that it is possible for it to be disregarded. An admission, therefore, that there is a lot of work being done without payment is unlikely to place this work in development statistics since these statistics deal with quantitative valuations. Thus, in order not to ignore activities which women perform free but which contribute to the increase of goods and services in the community, it becomes necessary either to pay for such jobs or to impute monetary values to them. The former may not be feasible in poor developing countries, but the latter is not impossible.

It can be done for jobs such as domestic service functions, housekeeping and nursing the elderly, which are jobs already evaluated in this way, but which women perform unpaid in the family. This method of accounting is not unknown to compilers of economic data, since it is presently used in the inclusion of data on the value of owner-occupied houses in national accounts. More rigor in recording other extra-domestic work women perform, such as unpaid work in family businesses would also be required.

The second myth, that work is located only in the modern sector, is more easily dispensed with. Many of the activities which women perform in the so-called informal sector contribute to the supply of goods and services distributed in the society, and bring in needed income to participants. Apart from increasing the total supply of goods and services, these activities contribute to the distribution of goods produced within the modern sector. Women retailing modern sector merchandise in the informal sector provide a necessary link in the chain of production without being themselves a burden on profits as wage earners.

The Need for Free Labour

In the light of the above, at least three questions logically suggest themselves here: Why is the contribution of some labour undercounted; why do women appear to constitute the biggest suppliers of this type of labour; to what extent does it entail a curtailment of status for them? A look at the periods during which this apparent disregard of female productive labour occurred, provides some clues to the answers.

During all periods of rapid capital accumulation, economic growth has involved balancing the desire to increase productive capacity against the necessity to control the costs involved in increasing the output of labour. Growth has been facilitated by technological advancements but it has also depended to a great extent on large supplies of free or near-free labour. This is revealed, for example, by the increased demand for labour without exchange value in the market which is apparent at all major periods in the economic development of Europe. In some periods it has involved the literal enslavement of people, while in others, some have been required to draw in their belts and expect less than worth for the labour they provide.

It is important to note the kind of people providing this labour - subsistence producers in underdeveloped countries to more developed economies, and women within transitional and developed economies. It appears that the connection between them centres around their relationship to the family. In subsistence economies all labour is essentially without exchange value since all goods and services are produced and consumed within the same economic unit, that is, all labour is reproductive labour. In the case of women, during the shift from subsistence to cash economy much of their labour was not socialized and this remained reproductive activity without market exchange value.

It is difficult to say with any certainty exactly why the suppliers of this type of labour are susceptible to the kind of exploitation outlined earlier, but we suggest that the answer lies to a great extent in the fact that they already supply free labour to the family unit.

This discussion does not suggest that an absence of exchange value denotes an absence of economic importance. Indeed, we claim that this constituted the basis of the economic worth of this labour at specific points in time, making it valued economic activity. We make no suggestions

either that coercion has always been a necessary concomitant of this method of securing labour. We posit that in obtaining free supplies of female labour, forms of non-cash payments have been made.

This payment has been the high value associated with women's roles as mothers and housewives where most of their free labour originates. Although as Massiah states [29] full-time mothering or house-minding has not been a feature of Caribbean female employment patterns, the above explains why these were nevertheless the ideal (though for economic reasons not the norm) particularly during the late 1950s and 1960s. As one of our pilot respondents indicated, it was not surprising to see a woman during that period give up her job on becoming married, thereby rising in status in the eyes of her neighbours and increasing the prestige of her husband because he could afford to have his wife not working.

The articulation of this culture of gender prescribing women's economic activity serves to attract and keep women's labour free. It attempts to make certain activities more attractive in terms of prestige for women, than others which they perform as paid workers. We suggest that this explains why occupations such as typing in which women predominate, are paid less than comparable jobs for men. To the extent as well that women internalize these notions, they limit themselves in the jobs for which they offer.

However, in so far as this type of exploitative development necessitated a strong welfare base which is an ill-afforded luxury in developing countries, it increased the burdens of women in many ways. This is augmented by the fact that in the Caribbean many women have sole economic responsibility for themselves and families. Women respond in several ways to the resulting contradictions which increase their familial responsibilities while restricting opportunities to discharge these; and it is only on the basis of these contradictions *in addition* to their responses to them, that women's actual roles and the positions or statuses to which they are ascribed can be explained.

A New Approach to Women in Development

Jerome Bennett Jr., senior editor of *Ebony* Magazine makes the point in relation to the problems faced by blacks in the current 'money crunch' in the United States: "Most analyses stop there, [at the problems] with the implicit assumption that blacks are powerless puppets who are unable to seize *their fate and alter it*" [15 p.34]. This point can also be applied to studies of women, since most analyses

stop at the economic, political and cultural subordination of women as though they are powerless to change their position. Women reproduce society both domestically and socially, and they create avenues for upward mobility for their children, often without having access to that mobility themselves. In order to do this, they must have resources and they must maintain and increase the supply of these - hence they are not powerless.

Starting from the assumption then that women perform a multiplicity of roles relative to men, and further, that a great proportion of women in the Caribbean shoulder responsibilities for self and family, the Women in the Caribbean Project takes as its point of analysis the resources which women have in discharging their responsibilities, and their access to these resources. It identifies resources as Sources of Livelihood, Power and Authority, and Emotional Support. It also suggests that these foster or inhibit women's access to further resources. In other words, these elements constitute a package of resources which represent not only the *means* by which women meet their responsibilities but they also determine women's *access* to these means. That is, they are viewed as an integrated whole, affecting women's equality and liberation, and determining their status.

Sources of Livelihood is defined as access to social rewards: goods services and knowledge; and to the institutional options and choices open to female members of society such as the family, religion, and other female organizational and group options; *Power and Authority* is defined as control over the distribution of social rewards; and *Emotional Support* constitutes the types of non-material support generated from a wide range of female alliances broadly categorized into female kinship alliances and female friendship alliances [20]. These elements are felt to be interlinked. For example, female friendship alliances may indirectly provide sources of livelihood: if child care is seen as a cost, then its removal would constitute a benefit in addition to freeing up considerable time which a woman might use to earn income or engage in a self-fulfilling leisure activity. Support networks among women are often used to reduce the 'cost' of child care to individual women, thereby providing them with a social service, along with giving them time to engage in income or leisure activity.

This approach allows us to view development not only as a determinant, limiting women's ability to choose, but as a resource, itself manipulated by women for their self-development. It will enable us to see, for example, how women use the increased opportunities for education and

whether this has increased their options in terms of the jobs for which they offer. It will help us to say whether the time saved by their increased access to services is used by them to increase their access to emotional support through their involvement in clubs and other organizations, and if so, whether this has an effect on their access to power and authority through involvement in leadership positions. We will be able to determine whether their increased contacts with other women as a result of development, are used by them to sensitize each other to their common subordination in various aspects of their lives - in other words, does this mean increased political activity by women at the work place and in society, and has their self-image as decision makers in the home and otherwise been affected? Answers to many of these questions must be left until the WICP survey is completed and we hear from the women themselves; but some preliminary findings of our pilot survey and documentary search are outlined in this paper.

Female Strategies in Development

The Women in the Caribbean Project accepts that women operate under many disadvantages and in many cases are handicapped even further as a consequence of economic development, as will be shown in our case study. However, our preliminary findings show that Caribbean women do not passively bow to debilitating economic circumstances. Indeed, we suggest that they cannot afford to, but use whatever openings are offered them in order to gain economic security, in addition to creating their own. Their choices range from manipulating the high prestige accorded their mothering and nurturant roles, to developing a variety of sources of livelihood, to grasping whatever opportunities are afforded them through avenues like migration. This might explain the heavy outward migration of working-age females from Barbados during the 1960s.

Migration

One feature which has always characterized Caribbean economies is the heavy flow of human traffic first into and later out of the islands. This has always been an integral factor in the economic strategies of the islands. It was witnessed first during the period of slavery and later between the period 1891-1921 when there was a heavy outward flow taking advantage of the boom conditions in Cuba, Costa Rica, the Panama Canal and the U.S.A.

What is significant, however, is that during all the earlier periods the outward migratory movement consisted almost entirely of men. The emigration of women during the 1960s was a new departure, corresponding with the new demands being made on women as a consequence of the onset of development [28]. This underscores the necessity of investigating effects of this phenomenon on the lives of these women, their families and the economy. Some small contribution towards this will be made by the WICP through the inclusion of questions about remittances in the general questionnaire. It is hoped also that this will be covered in more detail in the case histories which will be developed from reinterviews of some of the original sample of women.

In relation to inferences about role and status, a certain ambivalence exists in the case of migration. Women usually migrated in order to secure jobs as domestics, frequently coming from occupations such as nursing and teaching. This neither extended nor reduced their status since women have always been allocated these occupations, but it increased their roles and the prestige they commanded. As additional sources of remittances, they were now suppliers of needed foreign exchange, and as both controllers of more economic power/income and travellers to the 'outside world', their prestige became considerably higher than previously. It may be accepted that in their adopted countries these women controlled few positions, if any, of power and had little personal influence being, as migrants, relatively low income employees in an ethnic minority. However, in their own countries the personal power and influence of the returned migrant (the 'went-way' Bajan in Barbadian parlance) was so accepted that particularly during the 60s and 70s, many persons who never travelled often sought this status by attempting to mislead others that they were returned migrants, adopting exaggerated foreign speech and mannerisms to prove it.[4] Generalizing about the statuses of women or about the value attached to these statuses is therefore clearly ill-advised since these relate to so many factors simultaneously.

Adaptation of Family Structure

As has been documented in the literature of the Caribbean family, women in the Caribbean often adapt their family structures to suit their economic conditions. In the words of one of our pilot study women who had 10 children with six different partners:

> Sometimes I ask (myself) why I had so much (children). But having them and having no money - the little bit I had myself couldn't keep them - I had to look for somebody... I wanted all my children from one man *but getting something for one (child) I got the others* [39].

She continues "I don't regret having had my children though, because *it's them who pull me out of a hole now*". This woman had a very strong sense of her own righteousness and morality and said that if she had had children for fun then she would feel 'shame'. But she felt she had nothing to be ashamed of in having had six different fathers for her children. Some of the men, she felt, would not have made good fathers, and "you've got to *know a man very good before you let him raise the children* with you, so I prefer to raise them myself"[39]. While this woman might be held in low esteem because of middle class norms of marriage and single-partner sexual exclusivity, to many women in her community this woman was respected and her status as a good 'mother' highly valued. During the interview, neighbours' children kept coming in with requests and messages from their mothers and she said her neighbours often remarked on her ability to deal with children. Her status therefore placed her in a position to benefit from a network of mutual aid, and allowed her some measure of influence in the community.

Increasing Feminization of Certain Industries

Taking advantage of the greater emphasis placed on activities related to their mothering and nurturant roles as a consequence of development, women have also increased their presence in certain economic activities such as nursing and teaching. These activities are directly parallel to free activities undertaken by women for their families. Statistics on the services sector in the 1946 and 1960 censuses show that the largest occupational and employment gains made by women were made in community and government services specifically through the increase of teachers and nurses (see Table 5). In the combined service industries - community and business - the proportional (per cent) distribution of females went from 9.8 in 1946 to 20.6 in 1960 (no comparable data exist for 1970); and in a breakdown of the population by major occupational groups, their employment went from 1,200 in 1946 to 3,070 in 1970 specifically, again, as a result of the increased number of teachers and nurses (see Table 3).

Employment in the 'Informal Sector'

Studies have noted that in poor, developing countries, the inability to get wage work forces some people, most of them women, into low income self-employment [24]. This is considered by some economists to be *underemployment* or disguised unemployment. However, before we attempt to describe this phenomenon, it must be stated that problems do arise regarding this concept.

These problems relate to difficulties in measurement and differentiating between those who want to work in the informal sector and those who are forced to [23]. Studies attempting to measure underemployment have done so by relating it to the number of hours worked, but in most cases the people engaged in this type of activity work longer hours than those working for a wage or salary, precisely because of the low earnings associated with their trade. Using the concept of hours worked as a measure of underemployment could therefore lead to serious difficulties.

In Barbados, census statistics reveal that the number of persons employed under the category own account with no employees (the majority of the underemployed) *decreased* from 25 per cent in 1946 to 8 per cent in 1970. This is normally explained as increased educational opportunities leading to advantage being taken of better occupational options, but this assumes that sufficient 'good' occupational options exist in order to satisfy the demand for these, or at any rate to have at least *reduced* the demand for low income own account work. However, as we still show in more detail in our case study, employment opportunities, particularly for women, not only *did not increase* between the period 1946-1970 but *decreased*, and by such an extent as to *offset increased opportunities for men*. The total number of men employed in Barbados went from 49,776 in 1946, to 51,057 in 1970; while the number of women went from 41,593 in 1946 to 32,924 in 1970. Total employed declined by 7,388 (see Table 1).

Another major difficulty with the concept of underemployment is that it usually refers to activities 'normally' done, which, as we will show, fails to treat the totality of informal sector involvement.

Visual evidence and preliminary findings of our pilot survey suggest that while engaged 'full time' in what the census denotes as home duties, women also earn income by engaging in several activities. These include dressmaking, hairdressing, supplying food services, handicraft production and retailing petty merchandise ranging from confectionary to household appliances.

Although to date no statistical data exist to support our observation, we suggest that it is not unwarranted, but the manner in which the statistics have been compiled to date militates against the revelation of these activities.

The 1946 census defined as employed all those persons *normally* engaged in an occupation that brought in money (or goods or services in exchange) either to themselves or to their employers or heads of families. It did not take into consideration those engaged in home duties such as "cooking, cleaning, carrying fuel and water, and other duties not for money but for the direct benefit of members of a family" [25 p.xxxiv]. Unemployment was defined as 'seeking' work.

Because these definitions referred to work 'normally' done, they did not take into consideration periodic economic activities undertaken by women in support of their families. In addition, if a woman normally occupied herself as a housewife but undertook some other activity to earn an income, then she would not have been identified by the census as a 'seeker', nor would her economic activities be recorded as work.

The definition of employment used in both the 1960 and 1970 censuses attempted to address itself to the question of periodic work activity. It sought to do this by using two reference periods - one at the time of the census (last week's activities) and the other 12 months before. This approach allowed planners to separate full-time housewives from those seeking employment periodically, but it nevertheless failed to be satisfactory because of the very term it used to define unemployment.

The notion of 'seeker' to explain unemployment needs careful examination because of its vagueness of what exactly constitutes 'seeking' work. A person unemployed for a long time could have given up looking for a job, but it is questionable whether that person should be classified as *not* belonging to the labour force in the category of unemployed, but to that of home duties or any other category classified as 'economically active'. It should be noted that an effort to address this question was made in the 1970 and recently concluded 1980 censuses where a new category 'did not look for work but wanted work and available' was identified. The figures recorded here increased by practically one and a third times the number of those seeking work, but unfortunately only Jamaica and Bermuda extended this category to the week's activity classification [37 Vol.4]. In the case of Jamaica it extended 'seekers' by almost twice as much, suggesting that use of 'week's activity' classification

and inclusion of this new category will probably give a truer measurement of the labour force than is presently obtained.

We suggest too that it is questionable whether the definition of work as the production of goods and services for sale - whether the income goes to that worker or not - captured the activities of 'full-time' housewives who earn income from selling home-made handicraft, babysitting a neighbour's child for pay, or some such informal activity. Women themselves may not consider these so-called informal activities as work, and unless specifically probed for, it is unlikely that they will be so revealed. We suggest that although the importance of these activities as a source of full-time employment for women has declined since 1946, they are of continuing importance to women as a source of livelihood.

Two factors increase the significance of the last point. The first is the size of the category 'home duties' as a percentage of the total female population of working age (15-64). This has ranged from 40.8 per cent in 1946 to 47.7 per cent in 1960. The second factor is the very high and growing incidence of female-headed households which characterizes Caribbean family structure.

Massiah's statement, based on data from the 1970 Barbados census, that women who head households are more likely to be less engaged in paid employment than their male counterparts [30] increases the urgency to determine the significance of the 'informal sector' to women and to measure the extent of its contribution to households. The new approach taken by the WICP to the problems of women in development, addresses these concerns, and the inclusion of a question on sources of livelihood in the 1980 census should yield some interesting data in this regard.

In relating status to informal activities, much of this activity is apparently considered 'women's work'. A separate internal female-centred system of its evaluation also seems to exist. Durant-Gonzalez found in her study on higglering, that since this is an essentially female activity, men entering this field are assessed and assigned status *in terms of female attributes* within the trade [19].

Female Ideology of Work

The extent of the problems of women in development cannot be totally appreciated, however, unless we answer the questions: do women want to work outside of home and family;

what kinds of employment statuses do they embrace for themselves; do they perceive housework as 'work'? We have yet to know what constitutes the female ideology of work when there is choice, and, consequently, the possibility for correspondence between status and role.

Leonard Goodwin quotes Everett C. Hughes, *Men and their Work*, where he talks on the meaning of work:

> Thus a man's work is one of the things by which he is judged, and certainly one of the more significant things by which he judges himself. A man's work is one of the more important parts of his social identity of his self [22 p.156].

We assume these sentiments are no less true for women, and seek through the findings of the WICP to discover the extent to which this assumption is validated.

Preliminary findings suggest that women do value work for the sense of 'freedom' and 'independence' it brings. Of the women who were employed, regardless of their union status or income level, all except one, saw their work as their main source of support. Having their own money, they said, made them feel good because they did not have to beg anymore. Interestingly, this was also said by the housewives who only had personal savings given by children engaged in some income-earning home production or received income from being members of a *sou-sou* or *meeting turn* (informal credit association). Thus even though they received money from their partners, the women were never totally dependent on them for financial support. In the words of one woman, "I can be independent - I can tell anybody which bus to catch once I have my own money. You get kicked around too much when you have to depend on someone else" [39].

When asked what they wanted to do when they left school, all but four women wanted to work or study towards a job. Of those four, only two wanted to stay at home - one to look after her younger siblings, and the other to get married and have children because this was 'the usual girl's dream'. The other two said they had nothing in mind.

In answer to the second question, almost to a woman the jobs identified by our sample survey as jobs women wanted to do on leaving school were nursing, teaching or working with children. Only two wanted non-traditional jobs - a 22-year-old woman wanted to do reporting and a 36-year-old who wanted to do psychology. This phenomenon

is nicely summed up by one 35-year-old respondent who wanted to teach: "At that time women wanted to be nurses or teachers *this was expected*" (My emphasis) [39].

A later question attempting to get at current choice revealed a slightly different picture. Five of the women now wanted to do less traditional jobs - selling insurance, personnel management, personnel administration, managing a catering business in the city, and school career counselling. Only one said she would stay at home and the others, varying again, said they would choose to work as nurses, teachers, beauticians, secretaries or baby-sitters.

The actual jobs of the respondents, not surprisingly, reveal the same concentration in traditional jobs with four exceptions - one insurance saleswoman, a personnel administrator, a reporter and an owner/manager of a boutique. These four untypical women grew up in middle-income homes and were exposed to a wider range of employment options for men as well as women. Findings therefore suggest that the women themselves did not perceive of wider career options than were taken up by other women of their experience.

With regard to an ideology of housework, most women in the survey considered it to be work. Said one respondent: "woman is a donkey - she work at work and then go home and work again" [39]. Only a few of them appear to be insisting, however, that the males in their households share this burden. Many of them felt that men do not usually consider housework to be work, and two ventured the opinion that the reason for this is because it is not done for pay like other jobs. Seven respondents felt housework is not work, the two main reasons being: they do not earn an income from doing it and it is their duty and therefore 'comes like nothing'.

It becomes more evident therefore that the social definition of appropriate statuses for women, internalized to a large extent by the women themselves, clearly limits female activity and expression. Evidence of cognizance of this suppression is nevertheless present, and the women appear to have other self-concepts of their statuses and roles than those expressed by popular male opinion, or even by some of them as the popular 'female' opinion.

A CASE STUDY - BARBADOS 1946 - 1970

Women's participation in the world of work in Barbados has occurred alongside men's in virtually all sectors of the economy. However, important differences between male and female employment are evident from quite early in the recorded employment statistics. To begin with, outside of the early periods of settlement and slavery, women in Barbados have always outnumbered men, yet this factor has never expressed itself in the working population. The only period for which this does not hold is the period between 1891-1921, which is associated with heavy outward migration of working age males, as noted above. In more recent times, notably between 1969-1970, external migration has been dominated by females of working age and this has markedly affected the size and structure of that sector of the working population.

Employment Changes in Industries

In 1946 a picture of male dominance was exhibited in nearly every industry; only in the areas of service and commerce did women outnumber men. This picture remained unchanged in 1970, but other important shifts had occurred in the economy which changed the structure of women's employment.

Of particular significance is the substantial decline in the importance of agriculture as an employer for both men and women. Whereas in 1946 agriculture accounted for 31 per cent of the male working population and 27 per cent of the female, by 1970 this position had dropped to 18 and 16 per cent, respectively. In absolute numbers, this sector of the work force had also diminished.

By contrast, considerable increases occurred in the service sector, particularly in 1960-1970. During this period the proportion of the male working population employed in this sector increased from 14 to 22 per cent, and the proportion of female from 38 to 48 per cent. Employment in the other major sectors recorded interesting changes as well. Manufacturing showed an overall decline during the period, but the number of women employed experienced a slight increase between 1960 and 1970. Although recording an overall increase, the proportion employed by commerce fell for both sexes in the latter decade with the magnitude of the decline being smaller for men (see Table 1).

These movements indicate an important shift in the economy which mirrored the change in focus of development policy, but it posed peculiar problems for the female working population. The manner in which labour was redistributed among the various industries consequent upon the decline in agriculture, reveals that in every major area the proportion of females to males declined (in manufacturing and commerce the proportion rose between 1960 and 1970, after falling during the earlier period) [36, 37]. Even where gains were made, those were not of sufficient magnitude to present a serious challenge in the male-dominated sectors, as Table 1 illustrates.

It is debatable whether these changes can be considered as insignificant as might be suggested by their absolute sizes. Their importance lies in the fact that they contributed to the already heavily skewed distribution of jobs in favour of men.

It is the service sector which attracts the most attention. Historically a female stronghold, this sector witnessed both a considerable increase in numerical importance and a reduction in the dominance of women. This was accompanied by a growth of services in tourism and public and private sectors, and a reduction in domestic services.

Development therefore reduced the number and the percentage of women relative to men in the traditional sectors, while failing to absorb them at the same rate as men in the new growth sectors (in the case of manufacturing this holds at least up until the late 1960s after which the reverse occurs). The cumulative effect of these forces has led to increased competition between men and women for jobs, with women being the overall losers.

Employment Changes in Occupations

The types of occupations in which women have been employed reflect the sex-typing of jobs which may be observed in most countries. Women have been consistently dominating those traditionally 'female' clerical and service occupations, and are present in far fewer numbers than men in those other jobs requiring high levels of skills or administrative ability. The sex ratio of males to 1,000 females is below unity in these 'female' occupations, but ranges from between unity to four times as much in the professional, technical, production, administrative and executive, and agricultural categories.

Movements within and between occupations have followed very closely the trends observed in industries; namely, movement out of agricultural into modern sector jobs, and a decreasing proportion of women in virtually all jobs (see Table 3).

Additional changes were also observed. The number of women in production and service jobs seemed to be declining, while professional, technical (teaching and nursing) and to a lesser extent commercial jobs were attracting even more women than before. The 1970 production and service figures, however, showed a small revitalization over the preceding decade. For men, on the other hand, the attraction out of agricultural occupations seemed not only to be towards professional and clerical jobs, but also towards production and to a lesser extent service jobs.

Development Policies and Programmes

A closer look at government policy during the period under review reveals several factors which, it is felt, were instrumental in causing the movements described above. Looking at agriculture first, the following developments may be observed:

1. A policy of consolidation and mechanization in the sugar industry.
2. Budgetary neglect of the sector.
3. Low level of performance of projects implemented in the sector due to uncoordinated and ad hoc planning.

Mechanization of Agriculture

Consolidation and mechanization meant virtually the same thing. It was felt that the island would 'be better served by fewer but bigger and more efficient factories', but this translated, meant more machines [2 p.12]. The efficiency of machinery was further introduced outside of the factory in the ploughing, harvesting and cane loading operations and in the creation of bulk sugar installation facilities. Even other areas of agriculture outside of sugar were affected by increased mechanization. The extensive soil conservation programme in St. Andrew is one example [7].

The effect of this mechanization on employment of women was twofold. Not only were women driven out of the industry as were men, but they were being driven out at a faster rate. Invariably jobs requiring knowledge of the maintenance and operation of machinery went to men, and women's participation was largely confined to the less prestigious and increasingly limited manual jobs. As one report of the Barbados Sugar Industry Review Board acknowledged, "The decline in female recruitment is due partly to the increasing mechanization of farm work in which men easily find employment as vehicle drivers, mechanics, and sprayers..." [13 p.4]. The soil conservation programme, a largely technical and mechanized programme, had even less jobs to offer women, since they tended not to have the skills necessary to work in this area and more importantly, probably did not perceive of this as an employment option because of their own internalized stereotypes regarding the jobs they should or should not do. To top this ideological bias, the agricultural extension services were, and still are, a male concern.

It must be acknowledged that agricultural policy relating to the introduction of new crops, such as vegetables, onions and cotton, and the increase of general commodity and fish markets probably had some positive effects on female employment since more women than men tend to be employed with food crops. However, the continuingly high food import bill which in 1977 accounted for BDS$116.1m or 21 per cent of total imports [11], coupled with the observed reduction of employment in agriculture, suggest that the impact of crop diversification could not have been significant. It is difficult to assess the impact of the enlarged fishing industry since statistics are not readily available, but the highly informal sector content, particularly at the marketing end, suggests that gains made had a greater impact for women than men since visual evidence suggests that women constitute the majority of fish sellers.

Budgetary Neglect of Agriculture

The other two points on policy in agriculture relate to their effect on total employment in the industry more so than their specific effect on women's employment. A notable factor in the development plans between 1946 and 1977 is the persistently low place occupied by agriculture in total capital expenditure, as Table 4 shows.

The 1977 Barbados Economic Report recorded that

> Capital injections into agriculture and fisheries were poor in comparison to credit to other sectors. Barbados Development Bank loans totalled $829,880 a mere 7.9% of total value of credit from that source:... credit from commercial banks at the end of December stood at $20 million or 5.4% of outstanding credit [11 p.18].

This is surprising, given that up to 1977 the contribution of agriculture in the form of sugar exports as a percentage of total domestic exports was still above 32 per cent [11].

Ad Hoc Planning for Agriculture

A review of the projects implemented in agriculture adds to this picture of relative neglect. From the point of view of development agencies established, new projects introduced, right down to attitudes inculcated, planning for the sector seemed to have been plagued by an absence of coordinated policy. The following list is a small sample of the projects which have failed to achieve the objective of promoting agricultural diversification:

- The 1946 Small Holders Irrigation Scheme in which failure to adequately assess the cost to the small farmer resulted in an undisbursed amount at the end of the project of over 75 per cent of the original funds [10].

- The 1972 International Seafoods Limited Project, which in its first couple of years in operation suffered from underutilization of over half of its equipment. Government only managed to secure 10 licenses to operate in Brazilian waters when the project had 22 boats. Further problems of management, organization and efficiency of processing operations resulted in the complete abandonment of the project [26].

- The 1971 Instant Yam Project which has failed to realize its objective of making instant yam a commercially viable product because of inadequate attention to the marketing aspects of the project. In its first year of operations only a few hundred pounds of the 2,500 lbs., shipped to

> the U.K. were sold, and these very slowly [26].

Under-utilization of funds and failure to achieve objectives, resulted from failure both to develop adequate organizational capabilities and to foster appropriate ideologies. The weaknesses of the Agricultural Development Corporation (ADC) and the Barbados Marketing Corporation (BMC), two of what should be the key institutions in agriculture, are well recognised. So too is the failure to re-direct local consumption expenditure from foreign to local foods. This latter failure is expressed in the large size of the food import bill. A policy of fostering an appreciation for agriculture through the education system, has also been lacking. This is reflected in the need every year to import labour to harvest the sugar cane, despite continuing levels of high unemployment. All these factors conspired to reduce the significance of agriculture as an employer.

Industrialization

Although one of the objectives of policy in industry was to take up the slack in employment, lack of controls again resulted in failure. It is usually felt that the labour absorptive capacity of industry fell for two reasons: the failure to control the movements of enclave industries and the capital intensive nature of the industries being attracted. The Barbados Industrial Development Corporation (BIDC) claims that from observation the former is not valid in the Barbadian context.[5] Further study is needed to verify this claim.

Nevertheless, the concern of industrial policy to attract industries had led government to pay more attention to advertising the country's cheap labour and tax concessions than to assessing the effect of industrialization on employment. Dislocation of labour is an attendant evil of industrialization and it tends to be more prevalent in those easily mobile, more labour intensive industries of sewing and electronics. As a consequence, industry has granted women a mixed blessing since (particularly after 1960) it has slightly improved their opportunities for employment, but in the more unstable areas of industry.

The effects of capital intensive industrialization have been well documented. Investment costs of producing one job have been at times more suited to highly developed economies than to a transitional society like ours. In 1977, for example, the capital cost of producing 232 jobs was $15.1m

or $65,800 per job [11]. It is not surprising therefore that total employment in industry fell between 1946 and 1970. The slight improvement for women between 1960 and 1970 may be attributed to the increase in light manufacturing industries springing up at this time, perhaps coupled with government's recognition of the need to control the movements of these industries.

Modern Sector Development

The picture presented by the effects of policy in the services industry is much happier though less straightforward. As noted before, it is here that the most gains in employment were made and this is largely attributable to increases in the provision of government and social services. Yet it is here that their jobs were most threatened. A closer investigation of the services sector as presented in Table 5 reveals that in personal services, women's predominance suffered by a loss of some 33 per cent, from 86 per cent in 1946 to 53 per cent in 1960. No figures are available for 1970. It is felt that the increased migration of women during the 1960s and their increased demands for white collar jobs to suit their improved education levels are responsible for losses to this sector [28].

Data on employment in hotels and restaurants during the period 1946-60 show the complete opposite though less dramatic position. But enthusiasm must be curbed when interpreting these data because up to 1969 this category only accounted for about three per cent of women's total employment and only two per cent of all employment [27]. Again, no figures are on hand for 1970 and this is particularly unfortunate, considering the importance of tourism to Barbados after 1960. It has, however, been estimated that it now accounts for 10 per cent of all employment [27].

A study by Dawn Marshall [27] has attributed the failure of tourism to seriously stimulate employment as the inclination of planners to view this more as the growth sector in terms of foreign exchange earnings and contributions to gross national product, and less as a significant employer of labour. Certainly growth would create jobs, but as the lessons of industrialization have taught, additional policies would have to be introduced to ensure maximization of job creation. As the study also notes, planners have recently begun to stress the importance of employment generation as a factor in the assessment of tourism. We now have to see if policy will move beyond promotion and publicity in the industry to a more positive plan for improving its job creation capacity. This would

have to be related to the type of accommodation being built and concentrate on encouraging more labour-intensive luxury hotels as against apartment-type units.

Another area where policy has affected employment is in education. Women, like men, have benefitted from increased educational opportunities, and this has reflected itself in their demand for white collar professional and technical jobs. Unfortunately, the supply of these jobs has not moved as quickly as this new demand, and much frustration has been generated. This speaks to the larger problem of human resource management.

Despite the high level of general education reached by Barbadian workers, little systematic planning appears to have been devoted to developing and deploying available manpower resources to fit the needs of the country. Chronic unemployment ranging between 15 and 20 per cent continues to plague the economy [14]; valuable labour power is consequently either exported or remains bottled up, resulting in a dangerous build up of frustration in the society.

This is considerably more problematic for women since female unemployment is nearly twice as much as male. In addition, women have suffered an extra penalty because of their child-bearing and child-caring roles by often being forced into involuntary unemployment when their children are born. The introduction of a National Insurance Scheme, the emergence of protective legislation governing maternity leave and recent institutional provisions, seek to unburden women of this unfair disadvantage. These provisions allow women 12 weeks maternity leave with pay for up to three pregnancies.

Government's provision of day care facilities also assists with child care functions as well, but there are presently only 15 of these, with the largest accommodating 120 children and the rest ranging in accommodation from between 30-85 children.[6] Only a few small privately owned facilities exist but no statistics are available on these.

Conclusion

We have tried to show the need for a re-examination of the concepts, role and status as applied to women, and we have tried to show how misunderstanding of these concepts has been the result of an incorrect approach to the study of women in development. We have also suggested a new approach, and we have applied this approach to the case study of Barbados.

We have found in our case study that the period 1946-1970 has seen an increase in the male working population but a decrease in the number of females working, both as a consequence of actions taken as well as the absence of positive economic policy. This decrease has been of such magnitude as to offset gains in male employment so that the total working population decreased.

Unguided by a well articulated policy for its management, and faced with a situation of rising unemployment with the decline in agriculture, the labour force moved and readjusted on its own in a way that has seriously threatened women's ability to cope. This has been the result of a limitation in the number of positions which they can 'legitimately' hold, which has forced them to consolidate and increase their roles.

Recognising the contribution which women make to the support of their households, having to work as they do both inside and outside of the unit, it would seem that some understanding of the resources at their disposal and the strategies and trade-offs they have to make should be of crucial concern for planners. The appointment of, first, the National Commission on Women and, later, the Bureau of Women's Affairs is a step in the right direction. So too is the introduction of skills training programmes directed at both men and women. It is hoped that these will go beyond tokenism to sensitizing planners to needs and abilities of women.

It is important, however, to recognise that providing women with jobs does not necessarily provide them with freedom for self-development. Because of child care responsibilities or lack of sufficient income, they may be unable to choose whether and under what circumstances they will work. This means that women must be able to choose to work as housewives and not have to suffer economically because of it; or they must be able, like men, to choose both to work and have a family without solely bearing the burden of the double working day. These imply a reconceptualization of what is considered work and require a conscious effort to remove stereotypes which suggest that home, marriage and children are solely women's responsibility, while men should be left to get on with the 'serious' business of work.

This leads to the corollary that work outside the home is not enough to equalize the relative value of the sexes in all areas of social activity. Equality is culturally and politically as well as economically determined. If it is to be seriously achieved, therefore, both men and

women must perceive that opportunities to undertake all social activity are equally available. This includes house-minding and child-care activities as well as opportunities for the *same kind* of political and work activities.

Trends Since 1970

Trends from the late 1960s show female employment to be increasing. This may be linked to the growth of the textile industry and the introduction of an enclave electronics industry. These industries will, however, have to be examined in the light of their stability and integration in the national economy.

It is possible that these may represent a new kind of exploitation since this international movement of capital, in specifying women, is taking advantage of the opportunity to pay them less than they would have to pay men. In other words, this movement encourages gender discrimination by reinforcing the discriminatory situation already present. These industries also tend to be outside of the national trade union movement because of the paternalistic relationships encouraged by their management. It is important, therefore, that some in-depth study be undertaken to determine the effects of these new activities on the lives of women.

Table 1: Proportional (%) Distribution of the Working Population Aged 15 Years and Over by Major Industrial Group and Sex, 1946, 1960 and 1970

	Working Population					
	1946+		1960		1970	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Agriculture	31.2	27.4	26.4	26.5	17.6	16.1
Mining/Quarrying	0.8	0.0	0.9	0.2	0.6	0.1
Manufacturing	21.4	17.8	17.9	11.5	16.1	14.1
Construction	15.4	0.8	17.4	0.7	21.3	0.9
Electricity	0.7	0.0	1.5	0.1	2.1	0.3
Commerce	10.8	17.1	13.9	22.2	12.4	19.2
Transport	6.3	0.2	8.2	0.8	8.3	1.8
Services	13.5	36.6	13.8	38.0	21.7	47.6
Total	(49,780)	(41,590)	(50,170)	(34,880)	(51,060)	(32,920)

Source: Massiah [28]

Note: *Discrepancies in totals are due to rounding

+Data for 1946 refer to the Gainfully Occupied Population aged 10 years and over

Table 2: Proportion of Female to Total Workers in Each Industrial Group, 1946, 1960 and 1970

Industrial Group	1946+	1960	1970	Proportional Change 1946-70
Agriculture	42.3	41.1	37.1	- 5.2
Non-agriculture	46.9	41.0	39.6	- 7.3
Manufacturing	41.0	30.8	36.1	- 4.9
Construction	4.1	2.8	2.7	- 1.4
Commerce	57.0	52.7	50.0	- 7.0
Transport	2.9	6.4	12.2	+ 9.3
Services	69.5	65.7	58.6	-10.9
Other	3.9	8.3	8.4	+ 4.5

Source: Data in column 5 are derived from data contained in columns 1-4 which appear in Massiah [28].

Note: +Data for 1946 refer to the Gainfully Occupied Population aged 10 years and over

'Other' includes (i) Mining and Quarrying

(ii) Electricity, Gas, Water and Sanitation

Table 3: Working Population Aged 15 Years and Over by Major Occupational Group and Sex, 1891-1970

Year	Professional and Technical	Administrative and Executive	Clerical and Sales	Agricultural Workers	Transport and communication	Production and related workers	Service workers	N.E.C. and N.S.	Total*
				BOTH SEXES					
1891	1,130	-	6,090	45,000	2,420	27,710	20,760	1,340	104,450
1911	1,220	-	9,310	37,690	2,620	27,180	21,580	710	100,310
1921	1,240	-	10,320	34,150	2,790	23,700	20,350	1,810	94,360
1946+	2,520	410	11,630	26,710	3,590	23,190	17,980	5,340	91,370
1960	4,320	2,670	12,100	21,380	7,740	21,330	15,310	[illegible]	85,040
1970	7,770	1,150	15,090	13,020	1,190	23,490	16,090	6,180	83,980
				MALE					
1891	600	-	2,340	20,270	2,420	13,200	5,780	340	44,960
1911	580	-	2,640	15,510	2,600	12,130	4,710	270	38,450
1921	630	-	2,720	13,690	2,740	11,650	4,030	940	36,400
1946+	1,320	280	4,280	15,320	3,550	16,130	4,250	4,640	49,780
1960	2,210	1,640	4,360	12,220	7,490	17,360	4,750	140	50,170
1970	4,700	1,030	6,260	8,250	1,100	19,390	5,620	4,710	51,060
				FEMALE					
1891	530	-	3,750	24,730	-	14,510	14,980	1,000	59,500
1911	640	-	6,670	22,180	20	15,050	16,870	440	61,870
1921	610	-	7,600	20,460	50	12,050	16,320	870	57,960
1946+	1,200	130	7,350	11,390	40	7,060	13,730	700	41,590
1960	2,110	1,030	7,740	9,160	250	3,970	10,560	50	34,880
1970	3,070	120	8,830	4,770	90	4,100	10,470	1,470	32,920

Source: Massiah [28].

Note: *Discrepancies in totals are due to rounding

+Data for 1946 refer to the Gainfully Occupied Population aged 10 years and over

Table 4: Agricultural Capital Expenditure as a Proportion of Total Capital Expenditure

($000)

Development Plans	Total Capital Expenditure	Agricultural Capital Expenditure	% of Total Expenditure
1946-56	3,411.7	486.8	14.3
1952-57	16,500.0	738.0	4.5
1955-60	47,986.0	2,942.8	6.1
1960-65	53,351.5	5,772.4	10.8
1962-65	50,170.4	3,564.9	7.1
1965-68	41,367.7	4,321.8	10.4
1973-77	175,640.7	10,036.5	5.7

Source: Compiled by author from statistics given in Development Plans, 1946-1977

Table 5: Service Industry of the Labour Force - Proportional Distribution of Females and Proportion Who are Female 1946 and 1960

Service Industry	Proportional (%) distribution of all females in services		Per cent of service workers who are female	
	1946+	1960	1946	1960
Government	2.3	3.0	12.1	18.0
Community)	9.8	20.6	57.4	61.1
Business)		0.8		24.8
Recreation	0.4	1.3	19.3	27.8
Domestic	78.9	60.2	84.4	86.3
Hotels/ Restaurants	2.5	9.1	54.4	62.8
Personal	6.1	5.1	85.6	52.8
Total	(15,212)	(13,293)	69.6	65.8

Source: Massiah [28].

Note: Comparable data for 1970 are unavailable

+Data for 1946 refer to the Gainfully Occupied Population aged 10 years and over

Footnotes

[1]These women may not show up in labour statistics but they are nevertheless producers of goods, services and capital which are not confined to the domestic sphere and are measurable in economic terms. This is discussed in more detail below.

[2]See Murphy, Robert F., *An Overture to Social Anthropology*, Prentice Hall Inc. 1979, for a further discussion of role and status.

[3]Sources of Livelihood, Power and Authority and Emotional Support form the three themes of the WICP.

[4]These women constantly reinforce this status by frequent trips (scarcely-afforded) back home which are properly acknowledged by large turnouts of family and friends to witness arrivals and departures.

[5]Conversation with Manager of BIDC, 1980.

[6]Data obtained from interviews with personnel of the Department of Welfare, Government Service in 1981.

References

[1] ABDULAH, Norma, *The Labour Force in the Commonwealth Caribbean*, St. Augustine: ISER, UWI, 1977. (Occasional Papers; Human Resources 1).

[2] BARBADOS, *Development Plan for Barbados, 1946-1956*, Bridgetown: Advocate Company Limited, 1946.

[3] _____, *Development Plan, 1955-60*, Bridgetown: Advocate Company Limited, 1955.

[4] _____, *Development Plan 1960-1965*, Bridgetown: Government Printing Office, 1962.

[5] _____, *Development Plan 1965-68*, Bridgetown: Government Printing Office, 1965.

[6] _____, *Development Programme, 1962-65*, Bridgetown: Government Printing Office, 1962.

[7] _____, Economic Planning Unit, *Economic Survey of Barbados, 1960*. Bridgetown, 1965.

[8] _____, Economic Planning Unit, *Economic Survey of Barbados, 1965*. Bridgetown, 1965.

[9] _____, Economic Planning Unit, *Economic Survey of Barbados, 1970*. Bridgetown, 1970.

[10] _____, Economic Planning Unit, *Survey of Development Plans 1952/57 - 1955/60*. Bridgetown: Government Printing Office, 1960.

[11] _____, Ministry of Finance and Planning, *Economic Report 1977*. Bridgetown, 1977.

[12] _____, Ministry of Finance and Planning, *Barbados Development Plan, 1973-1977*. Bridgetown, Government Printing Office, 1973.

[13] _____, Sugar Industry Review No. 28, June 1976.

[14] _____, Statistical Service, *Continuous Household Sample Survey*.

[15] Bennett, Jerome, "Editorial" *Ebony Magazine*, Special Issue, Vol. 35, August 10, 1970.

[16] Boserup, Ester, *Woman's Role in Economic Development*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1970.

[17] BROWN, Adlith, "Planning as a political activity: some aspects of the Jamaican experience", *Social and Economic Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1975.

[18] DHAMIJA, Josleen, "Handicrafts: A source of employment for women in developing rural economies", *International Labour Review*, Vol. 112, No. 6, 1975.

[19] DURANT-GONZALEZ, Victoria, "Role and Status of Rural Jamaican Women", unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Berkeley: University of California, 1976.

[20] _____, "The Realm of Female Familial Responsibility", Women in the Caribbean Project, Vol. 2, *Women and the Family*, Cave Hill, Barbados: ISER, UWI, 1982.

[21] FIGUEROA, Teresa O., "A critical analysis of Latin American programmes to integrate women in development" in Tinker, Irene and Bramsen, M.B. (eds.), *Women and World Development*, Washington D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1976.

[22] GOODWIN, Leonard, *Do the Poor Want Work? A Socio-Psychological Study of Work Orientation*, Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1972.

[23] HAREWOOD, Jack, *Employment in Trinidad and Tobago, 1960*. Kingston: ISER, UWI, 1963. (Population Census Research Programme, Publication No. 5).

[24] _____, "Employment in Trinidad and Tobago", *CSO Research Papers*, No. 1, 1963.

[25] JAMAICA, Central Bureau of Statistics, *Population Census of the Colony of Barbados, 1946*. Kingston, 1946.

[26] KHAN, Jamal, *Development Administration: Field Research in Barbados*, Bridgetown: Yoruba Press, 1976.

[27] MARSHALL, Dawn I., *Tourism and Employment in Barbados*. Cave Hill: ISER, UWI, 1978. (Occasional Papers Series, No. 6).

[28] MASSIAH, Joycelin, "Women in Barbados: Some Demographic Aspects of Their Employment", National Commission on the Status of Women, *Report, Vol. 2*. Bridgetown: Ministry of the Attorney General, 1978.

[29] MASSIAH, Joycelin, "Indicators of Women in Development: A Preliminary Framework for the Caribbean", Women in the Caribbean Project, Vol. 6, *Women, Work and Development*, Cave Hill, Barbados: ISER, UWI, 1984.

[30] _____, "Female Headed Households and Employment in the Caribbean", paper presented at United Nations NGO Forum, Copenhagen, July 1980.

[31] MURARO, Rose Marie, *Women in Latin America: Phases of Integration*, Amherst, University of Mass., International Area Studies Programme, 1977. (Occasional Paper Series, No. 6).

[32] OLIN, Uppa, "A case for women as co-managers: the family as a general model of human social organization" in Tinker, Irene and Bramsen, M.B., (eds.), *Women and World Development*, Washington D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1976.

[33] PAPENEK, Hanna, "Women in Cities: Problems and perspectives", in Tinker, Irene and Bramsen, M.B., (eds.), *Women and World Development*, Washington D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1976.

[34] REDCAM, Tom, "The Mothers of the City", *Orange Valley and other Poems*. Kingston, Jamaica: The Pioneer Press, Limited, 1951.

[35] TINKER, Irene, "The adverse impact of development on women", in Tinker, Irene and Bramsen, M.B., (eds.), *Women and World Development*, Washington D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1976.

[36] TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, Central Statistical Office, *Population Census 1960*, Port-of-Spain, 1963.

[37] UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES, Census Research Programme, *Population Census 1970*, Kingston, 1976.

[38] _____, Institute of Social and Economic Research, *Women in the Caribbean Project: Research Proposal*, Cave Hill, 1978.

[39] WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT, INC. (WID). *A Study of Low-Income Women in Barbados*.

Joycelin Massiah

INDICATORS OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT: A PRELIMINARY FRAMEWORK FOR THE CARIBBEAN

Introduction

In the Caribbean where indicator analysis has not yet developed and where statistical series are difficult of access, the elaboration of a system which is limited, comprehensive, coherent, significant, capable of monitoring temporal changes and capable of being disaggregated, to use the Andrews approach [1], seems a formidable task. This paper attempts to do two things. Firstly, it proposes a framework for collecting indicators which could conceivably illuminate the variety of life situations in which Caribbean women are involved. Secondly, it attempts an initial assembly and analysis of data from the 1970 Census, from which a selection of indicators for the proposed model may be made. No effort is made to apply regression techniques to these data mainly because of the incomplete picture which they present. Additional data to make the model operative are expected to be generated from the ISER Women in the Caribbean research project (WICP), which, incidentally lays no claim to being an indicators project, but is designed to produce a range of material covering various aspects of the lives of women in the region.

The position of women in the contemporary Caribbean stems essentially from the historical heritage of dependency, as that concept relates both to economic and political realities, and from the peculiarly creole culture which has developed directly from that dependency. Thus, while the women of the Caribbean are differentiated in terms of national and social class groupings, their problems, like those of their menfolk, are inseparable from the wider problem of societies concerned with issues of poverty and unemployment, with devising strategies for freeing themselves from dependency status, or at least, for providing themselves with mechanisms for reducing the extent of that dependency.

The economic literature of the region is replete with essays on the character of the Caribbean economy and the nature of the development problems in the region [10, 19]. However, except for brief references in that portion of the development literature concerned with labour problems, there is virtually no perception of the specific problems of women in the local economies. Rather, the development problems are seen as being aggregate in nature, as are the

strategies suggested. Small size, openness and external dependence have come to be regarded as the key characteristics from which stem the major development problems - poverty, unemployment and inequality of income. Of these, the single most significant problem is undoubtedly unemployment. Even a cursory glance at the available development plans, the newspapers, official addresses, will reveal a growing concern, and not a little dismay, at the prevailing levels of this phenomenon and the inherent difficulties involved in devising satisfactory strategies to cope with it. While rapid rates of population and labour force growth have undoubtedly contributed to the growing unemployment, equally important are the capital-intensive nature of the manufacturing sector and the wide differential between wages in the modern and traditional sectors [18].

Recognition of the many structural weaknesses in these economies has been slow in coming, but over the past ten years there have been genuine efforts on the part of governments to come to grips with these problems. All governments are committed to strengthening the domestic agriculture sector; many of them promote export promotion drives within and outside the region. All of them are trying to develop locally-controlled financial institutions aimed at mobilizing local savings and channelling them towards priority areas. All of them are developing programmes for vocational and technical training for young school-leavers, promoting agriculture and small businesses as viable development enterprises. All of them have accepted the principle of regionalism as a basis for national economic development. None of them has applied any of these programmes specifically to women.

Women and Development in the Caribbean

Women in the Caribbean have always been involved in the community life of their territories, but the extent of their involvement has been circumscribed as much by the pervasive character of the socio-economic structure as by the ambivalent attitudes of the males who dominate the system.

During slavery, the women of the white upper class were excluded by law from many of what are now considered fundamental human rights. For these women a system of virtual segregation developed and hardened into a tradition which restricted their role to husband, home and children. In the middle of the class system were the mulatto women, many of whom, less bound by the necessity to observe the social graces and unhampered by the bonds of slavery, were

able to engage in numerous activities which permitted a certain measure of financial power, personal independence and dominance within their own households. At the bottom of the social scale were the black slave women. Slave women were not only required to labour in the fields side by side with their menfolk, but were also expected to perform the childbearing and housekeeping tasks within their households and to act as the primary food producers and distributors. They were deeply involved in the religious life of their communities and were often instrumental in developing and refining strategies for survival, subversion, escape and even rebellion. With fewer avenues in which to manoeuvre, they nevertheless utilized their children, their religion, their farming and marketing skills, their resistance activities, to earn for themselves the respect and dependence of their men. Indeed, the women were central to the preservation of the slave community. To their men they were a respite from the labours of the plantation and source of spiritual and material strength. To the whites they represented the pivot around which to project an image of near-idyllic black domesticity [43].

During the post-emancipation era, it was the black women who, by virtue of their selling skills developed at the 'Saturday' markets of slave days, moved into the public market places and the small retail shops and dominated the internal marketing system. It was the mulatto women who dominated the teaching profession, it was they who dominated the 'hotel' industry, such as it was. It was the white women who pioneered voluntary organizations concerned with providing assistance for poor women.

By the turn of the 20th century when male emigration had become a necessary means of securing financial support, it was the women who were left the major responsibility of maintaining their households, caring for children and seeking opportunities to earn income. It was those women who used the remittances sent by their menfolk to purchase plots of land, thereby initiating the development of a peasantry in the region.

The 20th century with its new ideas, new opportunities, new behaviour patterns has served simultaneously to reinforce and reshape the roles of women as established in those early years. Significant improvements in standards of health, the lengthening of longevity, increased availability of education at all levels, wider range of employment opportunities, widespread dissemination of information on family planning, political rights to vote, hold public service, stand for election, exercise public functions and jury service have contributed enormously to improving the overall status of

women [40]. But the fundamental class/colour differentiation remains the same.

The fact that the contribution of women at differing stages of development has not been acknowledged and that systematic efforts have not been made to maximize their potential contribution arises mainly as a result of traditional attitudes concerning women's role. This has translated in a number of ways. For example, although formal educational opportunities exist equally for boys and girls at the primary level, at the secondary level the number of places available for boys tends to exceed those for girls, while the facilities and equipment are better at boys' schools and curricula better designed to suit boys' employment potential [6]. Similarly, at vocational training institutes more stress is laid on 'masculine' occupations without any effort to motivate girls to adopt these occupations.

In the area of employment, an examination of available development plans reveals no effort either to create programmes designed to make better use of female labour or to encourage women to exploit such opportunities as are created for the population (in reality for the men); no effort to reform the labour market recruitment system, or to ensure the indefensibility of sex-stereotyping.

The notion of the 'full integration of women in the total development effort' originating in the developed world, which has been transplanted virtually throughout the world, has at least had the virtue of encouraging critical re-examinations of concepts of development. Feminist scholars have been particularly critical of the use of the GNP index, which, they argue, not only misrepresents the 'true level' of development but also fails to address the issue of income distribution. More particularly, they contend that the exclusion from the GNP calculations of household work, subsistence agriculture and the informal sector of the economy has effectively discounted the value of the considerable amount of effort expended by women. At the same time, efforts to upgrade certain aspects of the informal sector e.g. subsistence agriculture, have resulted in the introduction of techniques which have effectively reduced women's involvement in such activities, deprived them of their ability to generate badly needed additional household income and eroded their social roles and statuses [5].

Suggestions to counteract these disadvantages have been twofold: those related to the revision of the GNP concept to include a procedure for costing women's work

[14] and those related to the development of 'income generating projects' designed specifically to provide women with an opportunity to earn some income [69].

In the Caribbean, dissatisfaction with the GNP as an indicator is increasingly being expressed, but, to date no acceptable solution has been forthcoming. The creation of income earning opportunities constituted one of the functions of community development schemes which emerged with the introduction of the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund during the 1940s and 1950s. These efforts were supplemented by the work of various women's voluntary organizations which concerned themselves with providing training in skills related to food production, food processing, handicrafts and homecrafts. Ironically, although their activities were the same, these organizations have never been regarded as contributing to the development. effort in the way that community centres were. Rather, they were seen as an acceptable outlet for the energies of elite women. The community development approach has been long abandoned as has official interest in women's income-earning activities. It has been the task of these same elite groups to articulate the needs of women and to lobby their national governments into demonstrating some commitment to the notion of involving women in their programmes.

This has taken a variety of forms e.g. the appointment of National Commissions to Enquire into the Status of Women (Jamaica, Barbados, Guyana, Grenada); the establishment of a Women's Affairs Bureau or Department within the Civil Service (Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados); the issuance of a White Paper on Equality for Women (Guyana); the adoption of a formal position at the United Nations on the notion of Equal Rights for Women (Barbados); the appointment of an officer responsible for Women's Affairs within a Ministry (Grenada).

At the regional level, the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Secretariat, which represents governments of all English-speaking territories in the region, has recently appointed a Nutrition Officer with responsibility for Women's Affairs. A number of regional non-governmental organizations are also involved in the task of 'promoting the full integration of women in development'. These include the Caribbean Association for Women (CARIWA), the Caribbean Church Women (CCW) and the Women and Development Unit (WAND) of the Extra Mural Department of the University of the West Indies, whose primary function is to monitor the Plan of Action for women in the Caribbean and to assist in the implementation of its recommendations [13].

The translation of this activity into policy formulation and programmatic action has, however, been slow. Despite informal contacts, each of these agencies has been operating in relative isolation with little official cooperation at the regional level. It has taken the CARICOM Secretariat four years after International Women's Year to make a token appointment on Women's Affairs and five years to recognise the need for regional collaboration. Nevertheless at least a start has been made, so that a search at this time for relevant data systems to support these efforts becomes appropriate.

The Use of Socio-Economic Indicators in the Caribbean

Ideally, the indicators selected to illustrate the variety of life situations in which Caribbean women are involved should reflect the range, or a substantial portion of it, of characteristics which have been identified in the voluminous and growing literature on socio-economic indicators. It is not proposed to review this literature since several excellent reviews are already available [2, 3, 37, 71]. One of the major conclusions to be drawn from these reviews is that if the primary function of social indicators is accepted to be that of informing social policy and planning, then the sophisticated indicators and measurement techniques which have evolved in a movement which is largely concerned with Western and East European societies, are of limited validity in developing countries characterized by weak data bases, rudimentary technical skills and poorly developed planning methodologies. This is not to say that with proper manipulation indicator analysis is inappropriate or irrelevant in the Third World context. On the contrary, several examples attest to the need for such analysis and for the kinds of indicators required [45], the possibility of developing an indicator framework within the limitations of available data [47], the possibility of applying simple techniques to available data to produce acceptable indicators which address critical issues [4, 15], the possibility of applying sophisticated techniques in order to devise indicators which speak to one crucial Third World problem - poverty [62].

The first attempt to evaluate the applicability of socio-economic indicators to planning in the Caribbean region was made at a meeting organized by UNESCO and the ECLA office for the Caribbean in June 1978. This meeting pointed to several major difficulties including:

- the prevalence of outmoded conceptions of the planning process

- the wide scatter of social statistics
- the high degree of variability in the scope and quality of the available data
- the lack of suitably trained manpower in both the data-management and planning areas
- the heterogeneity of Caribbean societies in terms of culture, level of economic development, political ideology.

The meeting stressed the need for an interdisciplinary approach to planning and for greater collaboration between planners, statisticians and researchers. Perhaps, most importantly, the meeting recognised that although most of the elements needed for social planning in the region are present, what is lacking is "the demonstrated conviction of governments to come to grips with social concerns through a clearly stated social policy and social planning...". The ingredients for action may be present but "... the decision to include social indicators and social planning activities in country programming is a political one" [68].

This point is particularly crucial in the context of a region of several nation-states with no formal obligation to adopt a common strategy on any matter. However, informal cooperation among technicians has been known to stimulate formal cooperation as the experience of the Conference of Caribbean Statisticians and the Advisory Committee on the Population Census demonstrates. It is against this backdrop that the present effort to develop a preliminary framework for describing the social conditions of women in the Caribbean must be seen. The exploratory nature of the effort demands that of the range of objectives which indicator analysis claims, only one is feasible at this stage - that of descriptive social reporting and of identifying data gaps to improve the level of such reporting. Questions of adoption of the model into the planning mechanisms need to be taken up subsequently.

The Data

Emmanuel has claimed that indicator analysis in the Caribbean is in its infancy [24]. It may be that its stage of growth is even earlier. In the social science literature of the region, apart from Emmanuel's paper, only one paper

has been located which carries the word indicators in its title though indicator analysis is not used [55], while two adopt indicator analysis but do not specifically state that to be their objective [72, 73]. This is not to say that there is a dearth of statistics. On the contrary, a great deal of statistical material is generated by a number of agencies, regional, governmental and non-governmental. As a general rule, official data collection is executed mainly by the Statistics Department which is usually responsible for the collection of statistics on employment, income, migration, tourism, trade. This is supplemented by the social statistics collected by the various ministries on such areas as health, education, crime, social security and so on. Such an arrangement leaves considerable room for variation in scope and quality of statistics both within and between territories. In many instances, the material is irregular, unrelated, scattered and, in many instances, deficient. Much of this is reflective of the stage of statistical development in the individual territories, which in effect, is related to the stage of economic development. Thus, for example, only one territory, Trinidad-Tobago, has attempted to collate and publish a time series of indicators [65, 66]. Both these reports draw on material from the records of various ministries as well as from statistics generated by the Central Statistical Office itself. Trinidad also maintains a fairly high level of national accounts data, although the most recently published estimates refer to 1962. By contrast, the eight smaller territories have never produced official national accounts data. In these countries data bases range from poor to non-existent, statistical organizations vary in size from a few people to one person.

At the regional level, the most comprehensive and consistent effort at production, publication and analysis of data has been the population censuses which were taken on a regional basis in 1946, 1960, 1970 and 1980. No other set of statistics is treated in this way at the regional level. Compilations of topic-specific statistics may be published in regional format depending on the interest of the regional institutions undertaking the publication. For example, CARICOM has published a Digest of Regional Trade Statistics, a task formerly performed by the Institute of Social and Economic Research on behalf of the smaller territories. The School of Education, UWI has published a compendium of educational statistics for the region drawing on material from the various Ministries of Education [8].

Other compilations are produced by international organizations. For example, for the past seven years, ECLA has produced an Annual Report on the Economic Activity in

Caribbean countries which is based on data provided by the various national statistical offices and agencies as well as by the various Caribbean regional integration organizations [67]. The World Bank has recently published a volume which reports on the integration experience in the region, half of which is devoted to a compilation of relevant regional statistics [17]. Each year the British Development Division in the Caribbean publishes an Economic Report for individual territories which contains compilations of relevant statistics for those territories. In each of the examples given, the focus has been on economic statistics, partly due to the concern of the specific organization but also to the dearth or inadequacy of social statistics. But whether the material is published at the regional or national level, no systematic application of indicator analysis appears to have been attempted.

In the context of women in the development of the region, the data at hand permit a quantitative assessment of the differences between males and females in respect of education, household structure and employment and provide a statistical summary of mating patterns and levels of fertility. This, however, presents only a limited statement of what women do, how they do it and what rewards/sanctions they receive. A fuller statement requires additional data.

Indicators of Women in Development

The rich literature on women in development which has accumulated rapidly since the publication of Boserup's landmark work [5] provides irrefutable evidence of the dual level participation of women in the development process throughout the world. On the domestic level, women provide the physical and psychological support structure within which the present and the next generation of workers function. On the public level, women engage in a variety of economic activities which contribute to the upkeep of their households. Whilst, however, their activities in the former 'domain' have been recognised and acknowledged, in the latter, they have traditionally been regarded as marginal, as having little or no economic value. Consequently, the results of their labour are excluded from conventional techniques of economic accounting; planners continue to devise programmes which fail to address the specific situation and needs of women and the myth that development will automatically improve women's situation continues to be perpetuated.

Without attempting to review the extensive literature available, several of the important conclusions may be identified [5, 16, 27, 44, 47, 64]. One general conclusion

appears to be that most development programmes reach more males than females, many do not reach women at all and many that do, operate to the detriment of women. A fundamental contributory factor has been the non-recognition of the dominance of women's productive role; this has produced 'women-centred' programmes which tend to be welfare rather than development oriented. Such programmes tend to offer services such as health and family planning, instruction in such areas as housecraft skills, childcare, nutrition, handicraft, all of which tend to reinforce the domestic role of women. By ignoring their productive role, such programmes overlook the vast quantity of time which women spend on these activities, thus making it difficult, if not impossible for them either to perform their domestic roles efficiently, or to benefit from the welfare programmes supposedly designed for their benefit [27].

One of the most frequently cited obstacles to the inclusion of women's concerns in development policy and programme formulation is the absence of information. The comment of one male observer to this complaint is worthy of quotation:

> But, clearly, there is already more relevant knowledge available than is being used in the process of policy formulation or program planning and implementation. Moreover, development planners and programmers are well accustomed in most countries to operating on imperfect knowledge in other areas, and development specialists everywhere make important decisions and commitments daily on equally unsatisfying knowledge bases. What is known about women is ignored or undervalued, but at the same time, lack of attention to women in development programs is attributed to paucity of information about them. Yet, on other subjects decision makers eagerly seek out and willingly act upon knowledge that is no less imperfect. This is a troublesome paradox that implies powerful prejudice [74].

This is, of course, another facet of what Germain describes as 'attitudinal rigidity' [27] and becomes critical in the present discussion on indicators of women's situation. Data with which to measure or assess the participation in and benefits derived from development are legion. But in the majority of cases such data obscure the contribution of, or the effect on, women. Certainly this is the case in the Caribbean. On the other hand, important data sources do provide some relevant information on women, although they

tend to be restricted to certain groups of women or certain areas of activity. For example, the census definition of 'work' automatically excludes the majority of women in the reproductive and productive age span who are involved mainly in household maintenance activities. What seems to be required is precise information on such questions as, what are the strategies which women devise to permit them to survive within a given socio-cultural context, what difficulties do they encounter, what assistance is provided them by their societies and how do they benefit from the assistance provided.

A system of indicators designed to address these questions should reflect the operation of sexual differentiation in areas other than education and employment, the conventional indicators; should reflect notions of differential power and authority between the sexes and should reflect the heterogeneity of the sub-group women. Ideally, such an approach requires both quantitative and qualitative measures. The quantitative measures should indicate the differential representation of men and women in different areas of activity, the differential exercise of rights and responsibilities, the differential control over material rewards. Qualitative measures should indicate the perception of the individuals concerned of their own and their group's position on several spheres of activity and in the society as a whole.

Four studies have been identified which attempt to deal with this question of measurement.[1] In a proposal for an analytical framework for measuring progress towards equality, Dixon selects five major spheres of activity as being important - sexual relations, reproduction, homemaking and socialization of the young, education and economic production, political decision making [20]. Equality is achieved in each sphere when men and women are equally represented, equally active in the exercise of rights and responsibilities and equally rewarded for their performance. Although specific indicators are not proposed, the argument adopted is that an indicator model should not only portray the situation in each sphere, but should also permit measurement of the extent of interdependence between spheres and the measurement of changes across nations and between subgroups over time.

In a study concerned with the development of a theory of the status of women, Sanday stresses the importance of female productive labour as a precondition for the development of female status [56]. Four indicators are proposed - female control over produce, demand or value placed on female produce, female participation in some political activities and female solidarity groups devoted to female

political or economic interests. Guttman Scaling Techniques are applied to these four indicators for 12 agrarian societies in order to develop a scale of female status designed to indicate the extent to which women gain and maintain control.

In the third study identified, Papanek has developed the notion of status production work to characterize three types of activity in which women engage [46]. There are those activities concerned with 'support work generated by the demands of income earning activities by other family or household members'. The second category relates to the training of children; while the third relates to those activities related to the maintenance of links between the family/household and the outside community. Although this study was not intended to produce indicators, the particular attraction of the model lies in its effort to identify the various types of activity in which women engage in an effort to proceed beyond conventional notions of 'work' and 'non-work'. An indicator system focused on women needs to incorporate such a feature. The remainder of this paper proposes a model which attempts to achieve that aim.

AN INDICATOR SYSTEM FOR WOMEN IN THE CARIBBEAN

Indicators purporting to reflect the condition in which contemporary Caribbean women exist should reflect, firstly, aspects of the socio-political reality within which these women operate. This implies that those structural features which impinge on the societies' efforts to 'develop' should be highlighted. As Emmanuel states, "Caribbean economies, past and present require... that dependency indicators constitute an essential aspect of a relevant indicator system" [24]. Secondly, they should reflect those areas which are of direct relevance to the daily lives of women. This relates specifically to those aspects of sexual differentiation outlined on page 51. Thirdly, they should reflect the attempts, if any, being made at the institutional level to ensure a system of social aid which would permit women to become involved in those areas of productive life which are highly valued by the society.

The model proposed here consists of three panels, the first of which is concerned with the structural issue, the second with the situation of women and the third with legal provisions enabling women to participate. The model developed by Emmanuel which links notions of size with the degree of plantation economy domination and with levels of

economic dependency to explain the general performance of total socio-economic political systems, provides the framework which has been adapted to form the first panel of indicators in the present study [24 and Appendix I].

The second panel of indicators is developed in the context of three major themes: *Sources of Livelihood*, which consists of formal and informal sources of income; *Emotional Support* which derives from kinship and friendship ties, work situation, participation in formal and informal associations; *Power and Authority*, in political and non-political spheres.

The third panel of indicators reflects efforts to alter the macro-structure to ensure that the skills of women are fully utilized in the process of transformation of these societies.

The suggested framework may be outlined as follows:

PANEL I - RESOURCES

Human:	population, education, health, social conditions
Physical:	land, mineral resources
Economic:	patterns of property ownership, performance of economic resources
Social Mobility:	socio-economic groups, incidence for social mobility, equality of opportunity

PANEL II - STATUS OF WOMEN

Sources of Livelihood:	involvement in production process, levels of income, alternative/supplementary sources of income
Emotional Support:	involvement in reproductive unions, extent of motherhood, job satisfaction, leisure activities including involvement in informal cliques/ associations.

Power and Authority:	autonomy in family union; particiaption in political organizations; participation in socio/economic organizations; office-holding in organizations; management/ supervisory positions in formal economic sector.

PANEL III - LEGAL PROVISIONS

National Institutions:	constitutional guarantee of equality of sexes; universal adult suffrage; political independence; women's bureau/ commission; paid maternity leave.

This model retains those indicators of the Emmanuel framework relating to size, character and ownership of resources within the territories, since these are the ones most directly related to women. It selects only two of his indicators related to performance of resources and entirely omits his fifth area of concern - the impact of economic integration on resources. The model and the associated indicators, provided in the Appendix, provides an 'ideal' system, but, in reality, while most of the data are readily available from census and other statistical sources, a complete set of information is not available for any territory, let alone the whole region. Some of the gaps have been filled through the ISER-WIC project.

The rest of the paper offers a preliminary discussion of the categories selected and the proposed indicators. Limited analysis of relevant data from the 1970 census from which some of the indicators may be derived is included in order to inform the selection of appropriate indicators. In those cases related to the structural position of the society, the use of rates, ratios or percentages is proposed. In those cases in which the position of women is being compared to men, the proportion of women who comprise the total group is used. This corresponds to Boulding's 'Index of Femaleness'[6] which label has been applied here. In those cases referring to the characteristics of national institutions, it is proposed to use the age of the relevant institution.

PANEL I - RESOURCES

The *Human* Resources sector of this panel is designed to provide information on the size and quality of the basic social endowments, the performance of the economic resources and the stratification system within these societies. The measures selected are those which are of particular relevance to women and which are hypothesized to influence their position in the social system.

I. 1.1. *Population:*

1. Population 1970 Census
2. Population growth rate 1960-1970
3. Crude Birth Rate
4. Crude Death Rate
5. Sex Ratio of Total Population
6. Sex Ratio of Population 15-44
7. Youth Dependency Ratio
8. Students per 1000 Working Population
9. Population resident in urban and urban/type areas.

The major aspects of the population considered to be of relevance to the situation of women are depicted in indicators showing the size and age-sex structure of the population under review. The size, growth rate and crude birth rate of the population indicators speak to a recognition of the relevance of size to the evolution and development of small states. Small size has been identified as a particular constraint in the contemporary period of constitutional independence, in which national governments are attempting to devise and implement structures and mechanisms to provide the social environment which their populations have come to consider as a right. However, the precise weighting to be attached to this constraint is currently the subject of much discussion among the economists and political scientists of the region [38].

Table 1 illustrates that in 1970, the population of the region stood at 4.3 million, of which the four largest territories - the so-called MDCs - accounted for 3.7m or 87 per cent. Prevailing levels of natural increase are high,

due to high fertility and low mortality rates, but have been considerably eroded by levels of external migration. No adequate records of this phenomenon exist, but a simple estimate may be derived by attributing the difference between the actual intercensal increase and the natural increase to net migration and expressing the result as a percentage of natural increase. These estimates emphasize the dominant role played by external migration in determining the population growth rates in the region. For the region, over half of the recorded natural increase is checked by emigration. For three territories - St. Kitts, Montserrat and the Turks - losses due to emigration actually exceed gains from natural increase. For four territories such losses exceed 70 per cent, while for another three the losses amount to just over one half. Women are affected by this massive outward movement to a slightly higher degree than men. For Barbados, of the volume of estimated migration of 39,000, women account for 21,300 or about 55 per cent.

When we turn to levels of fertility, crude birth rates indicate that only one of the larger territories - Barbados - records a level below 30. There are three smaller territories which record rates of 29, but the small numbers involved may not warrant much attention to this rate. In general, with crude birth rates averaging in the high thirties, the region is essentially a high fertility one.

By contrast, rates of mortality, measured by the crude death rate are essentially low, ranging from 6 to 12 per thousand. Females have benefitted particularly from this favourable mortality position. In all territories for which relevant data are available, female life expectancy exceeds male while in two territories, Barbados and Jamaica, female life expectancy in 1969-71 amounts to 70 years, a level which is markedly similar to that obtaining in many Western populations.

The focus on women demands a preliminary look at the age-sex structure of these populations. Indicators 5 and 6 provide an index of the sex distribution, which together with Indicator 1, reflect the net consequences of the operation of the several demographic variables. Sex ratio indicators are of special significance since the demographic history of the region is characterized by levels of external migration which have produced marked imbalance of the sexes of the adult population [50]. The principal feature here is the high level of the sex ratio for the total population, 959, and for the population of working ages, 927. Taken by themselves, these ratios may not be remarkable, but in the context of a history of emigration, they represent

considerable improvements in the balance between the sexes. It is only over the past decade or two that significant evidence of a redress in this imbalance has been identified. For the first time the level of this ratio has approached unity in the productive and reproductive age span.

The final population measure depicted in the table, the youth dependency ratio, highlights one important aspect of the structure of these populations and that is the extreme youthfulness. In 1970, approximately 47 per cent of the region's male population and 44 per cent of the female were aged under 15. This translates into youth dependency ratios varying from 117 in St. Vincent to 68 in Barbados. Seven territories record ratios in excess of 100, another six record ratios between 70 and 100 and only one shows a ratio of less than 70. Youth dependency ratios of this magnitude provide an indication of the extent to which it becomes necessary to draw on the skills of all possible human resources to provide the necessary assistance to maintain the next generation of the region. A further indicator of dependence, the student dependency ratio, highlights the recent tendency for young people to continue their education for longer periods, thereby imposing a further burden on the population of productive age. This measure has not been depicted in the table.

The inclusion of an urbanization indicator raises several definitional problems. Clearly, international classifications based on numerical size cannot be applied in a region whose total population in 1970 amounted to about 5 million. The approach here has been to adopt the approach of the last two censuses according to which an urban population could be constructed making use of the following groupings:

Main Town:	the capital city
Small Town:	selected on the basis of the presence of certain institutions and facilities and, in general, a minimum population of 2,000. The critical criteria used however were the facilities rather than population size.
Special Areas:	arbitrarily demarcated areas adjoining towns which have sufficient urban characteristics to warrant their classification as urban or sub-urban elements.

For the purpose of this exercise, the combined categories are recognised as urban and the relevant proportion adopted as indicators, although it is recognised that such a measure fails to reflect the degree of urban concentration. However, since the 'special areas' category applies to just three of the 14 territories, the simple proportion is considered satisfactory for present purposes.[2]

I. 1.2. *Education:* In Caribbean society, education has long been regarded as one of the primary means of upward social mobility. Improvements in educational attainment are expected to yield improvements in occupational status, levels of income and social status. Improvements in education have been shown to be related both to levels of fertility and the degree of participation in the work force. A negative correlation with the former and positive with the latter are taken as indicative of improvements in women's status.

Up until 1946, censuses were concerned to illustrate levels of literacy and illiteracy. From 1960, the concern shifted to enrolment levels, attainment levels and extent of certification. To these, the 1970 census added the extent of vocational training. The indicators suggested by the model attempt to indicate the degree to which women are represented in each of these categories.

The measures selected are:

1. Index of femaleness for enrolment at primary level (age 5-14)

2. Index of femaleness for enrolment at secondary level (age 15-19)

3. Index of femaleness of secondary certification (15+)

4. Index of femaleness for attainment of university education in adult population

5. Index of femaleness of workers with special training.

Primary education in all territories is mandatory by law, continuation through successive stages of the system being dependent mainly on individual circumstances. Secondary education is provided by both the public and private sectors, while tertiary level education (interpreted here as university) is provided by governments through the

regional UWI, and by the Government of Guyana through its own university. University training outside the region may be acquired either through government scholarships in areas in which regional universities provide no training or on individual (fee-paying) initiative. At no level of the system is there any formal restriction against equal availability of education to boys and girls. However, while at the primary level this equality is evidently achieved, as indicated by the available enrolment data, this does not prevail at the post-primary level. At least one territory, Barbados, has documented the extent of this inequality in terms of the time lag in the official provision of secondary education as an essential right for girls, the unequal number of places available, the differential provision of properly trained staff, of facilities and the different orientation in curriculum design [21, 39, 61].

Enrolment

Basic data reveal a high level of enrolment in the case of children aged 5-14 (Table 2). Female rates are marginally higher than male in a few territories, but, essentially, no significant difference exists in the level of the rates for the two sexes which stands at 92.5 per cent for females and 92.0 per cent for males in the region.[3] At ages 15-19 enrolment rates are much lower amounting to 36.8 per cent for females and 37.9 per cent for males in the region. In three of the 14 territories female rates are lower than male rates, while in the remaining 11 territories, female rates exceed male by amounts varying from one to 15 percentage points. Data for individual territories indicate, that up to age 12, virtual equality of enrolment prevails between male and female but thereafter, sex differentials in favour of the females prevail until age 17. Beyond that age, it is male ratios which assume dominance [40]. This is reflected by the index of femaleness which centres on 50 in every territory for ages 5-14, and which rises slightly between ages 15 and 19.

Of interest are the proportions of the school age population attending different types of schools. For the population 5-14, the majority is to be found in primary schools, For both sexes proportions range from over 90 per cent to a low 59 per cent in Barbados. With one exception, the secondary level accounts for relatively small proportions of the population, most territories recording less than 10 per cent of both sexes in this category. The outstanding exception is Barbados which shows 32 per cent of the males and 33 per cent of the females at the secondary level. This extreme deviation is to be accounted for by a

system in which the children move through the school system on the basis of an age transfer process. Technically, this system is maintained throughout the region, but it appears that the recording procedures in the Barbados census reflected the system more clearly than elsewhere. From the data, it is evident that female involvement in secondary education is slightly higher than male. A simple ratio, the number of secondary school children per 100 primary school children, serves to illustrate this. In 13 of the territories, the female ratio exceeds the male ratio, in some cases being almost twice as high. This supports the earlier contention that female progression through the system at these ages is higher than males.

Educational Attainment

If the adult population (15+) is taken to include both those who have completed their education and those still enrolled in an educational institution, it is evident that the majority of the Caribbean population has not progressed beyond primary education. For the region as a whole, 73.7 per cent attained a primary education as compared with 18.0 per cent who achieved a secondary education. Small numbers amounting to approximately 1.0 per cent have achieved professional and university training. Data from individual territories suggest that proportions of this order reflect considerable improvements compared with the position at previous censuses [41, 53].

Four categories of attainment are recognised corresponding to primary, secondary and tertiary level education, the latter including both professional and academic training. The first group comprises persons who have received no formal education, the second covers those who ceased their education at the infant or kindergarten stage, while the third covers those who completed the primary level of education. The fourth group covers those who received a secondary level education, while the fifth group covers persons with a university or professional training. A residual group 'other' covers persons who received their education in institutions outside the region for which workable equivalents could not be established within the stated categories.

At the extreme ends of the distribution, females are seen to be at a disadvantage (Table 3). Of the population who received no education, females amount to approximately three-fifths, while of the population who achieved a university education, females account for only one-third. By

contrast, at both the primary and secondary level, males and females are about evenly divided.

Educational Qualifications

Unfortunately, while the enrolment data available permit an identification of the effort of the society to educate its youth population and the attainment data indicate the extent to which the society has educated its population in the past, neither provides information on the relevance of that education to the social reality. One possible approach to the former is to measure the extent of certification at a point which can be taken as critical - here assumed to be the secondary level. An earlier study has demonstrated that the majority of female workers (68 per cent) have been exposed to secondary level education but that, of these, 57 per cent have received no certification. Yet it is those unqualified women who have the highest worker rates, because they are the ones most likely to move out of the traditional 'female' occupation spheres and into non-traditional areas [41]. Thus the secondary level must be considered crucial. Table 4 presents four categories separating those who have gained certificates from those who have not. The certificates recognised are the General Certificate of Education (GCE) O and A Level, university degrees or diplomas and a residual category 'other' which covers certification other than those identified which were obtained beyond the primary level.

The total number of persons who have such training in 1970 amounts to 476,300, an amount, which if data from individual territories are relevant, indicates a virtual doubling of the number within a decade. Of this number 244,600 or 51.4 per cent are female, reflecting once again, the relatively even spread of educational opportunities within the region. Most of the total is accounted for by persons who have received no form of certification and who presumably, have received only minimal secondary education. Such persons account for 59.5 per cent of all persons with secondary education in the region. Within this group females tend to be worse off, in that in each territory (except Guyana), they constitute a larger proportion of such persons. Proportions range from 63 per cent in St. Lucia to 44 per cent in Guyana. Persons who have secured GCE (O and A) passes or their equivalent, amount to 102,900 or 21.6 per cent of the total. The distribution between male/female is fairly even from territory to territory, with 48.4 per cent being female.

It is at the university level that differences are striking. Here only 38.4 per cent of all persons who have received such training are female. In only two territories does the proportion approach 50 per cent, one of them, Jamaica, being the site of the largest campus of the University of the West Indies. The residual category 'other' represents qualifications for which equivalences could not easily be established with GCE or university degree or diploma. This category accounts for a sizeable number of persons and suggests some territorial differentiation in interpretation and classification within the region. Amounts of 60,050 or 12.6 per cent are deemed to be within this category. Of these almost 60 per cent are female, with territorial differences varying from 63 per cent in Jamaica to 47 per cent in the British Virgin Islands.

An indirect means of tackling the question of relevancy of education is to examine the proportion of the adult population which has received special training for the work in which they are involved. Such proportions are low throughout the region, amounting to 14.2 per cent for males and 8.6 per cent for females, with highest proportions evident for Trinidad and lowest for Dominica. In terms of the index of femaleness, two-fifths of the trained persons in the region are female, of whom the vast majority are trained as stenographers, teachers and medical workers. While not denying the importance of these occupations, it is to be wondered whether these represent the highest order of priority in developing areas.

In summary, the educational position according to the 1970 census suggests no marked differences reflective of distorted educational opportunities for the two sexes. This would require information such as available school places, selection processes, available facilities, curriculum content, none of which is immediately at hand. However, the efficiency of the system in terms of level of certification and the relevance of the system are seriously open to question.

I. 1.3. The *Health Indicators* selected here are intended to reflect

(a) the general mortality level of women and the mortality from those causes of death identified as the most numerous in respect of women;

(b) the morbidity status of women with respect to one specific cause (abortion)

which has been selected because of an apparent increase in its incidence;[4] and

(c) the combined effect of a number of socio-cultural situations on those levels of mortality which relate more specifically to women than men.

The indicators selected to achieve these objectives are:

1. Expectation of life of females
2. Infant mortality rate
3. Rate of maternal mortality
4. Rate of cancer of the cervix
5. Hospital admissions due to incomplete abortion
6. Access to hospital/health facilities.

No data are offered here in respect of these indicators; however, available life tables suggest that female life expectancy has been in excess of male for most of this century. The most recent data indicate that prevailing levels of life expectancy place at least three of the territories firmly amongst the most developed of countries. By contrast, levels of infant mortality leave room for improvement. While reflecting general social conditions, these rates also contain significant implications for women. A recent study in Jamaica records the overwhelming psychological effect which the death of an infant has on the Jamaican mother [54]. As such the infant mortality rate provides a useful summary social indicator of an event which affects the well-being of women.

Indicator 3 is virtually self-explanatory. Maternal deaths have declined tremendously in the region. Indeed, in most territories current numbers are now so low, that the computation of a rate may not be recommended. Indicator 4 is intended to reflect the fact firstly, that mortality rates from cancer are generally increasing and secondly, that among women it is cancer of the cervix which accounts for most of female mortality from this disease. In Barbados, mortality from malignant neoplasms currently ranks as the third principal cause of death. Records from the radio therapy department of the Queen Elizabeth Hospital indicate that of all types of cancer investigated by that department,

cancer of the cervix accounted for one-third and cancer of the breast for one-fifth [35]. Late presentation, lack of education, no pap smear test and no self-examination of breasts were the primary factors operating against early detection. Clearly, indicators in this area are important contributors in the design of measures designed to improve the health of women.

Indicators 5 and 6 are large self-explanatory, the former reflecting current concern with a major cause of morbidity among women, the latter reflecting the need to demonstrate that the presence of facilities and medical personnel without relatively easy access to such facilities is virtually useless.

I. 1.4. The fourth sector in the human resources panel of indicators relates to *Social Conditions* and here, again, the concern is with those conditions which bear directly on women. Included here are those indicators providing information on general levels of living, provision of community child care facilities, family planning and maternal and child health services, household structure with particular reference to female-headed households. Thirteen indicators are envisaged:

1. Degree of poverty
2. Index of femaleness of extent of poverty
3. Average household size
4. Community child care facilities per thousand children under age 5
5. Enrolment ratio of children in public and private nursery schools
6. Access to family planning services
7. Access to maternal and child health facilties
8. Index of femaleness of single person households
9. Proportion of households headed by women
10. Index of femaleness of employed household heads

11. Index of dissimilarity of occupations of household heads

12. Index of femaleness of household heads with no secondary education

13. Proportion of female household heads not in reproductive union.

No direct assessment of the degree or extent of poverty is possible with the available data. A recent World Bank report has listed four indicators of the degree of poverty, defined as the deficiencies in essential requirements of three basic needs, food, clothing and shelter; and three of its extent, defined as the proportion of poor people in the entire population [17]. A high degree of correlation exists between each group, for any given country, thus for present purposes, it was felt that a single indicator for degree of poverty and one for the extent of poverty would suffice. For the former, the Food Working Days Index developed by the World Bank seems appropriate while for the latter the proportion of the lowest paid categories of the working population who are females is the index chosen [17].

Indicators 4-7 attempt to identify those facets of the social service provisions which bear directly on mothers and their children. This group of indicators when related to the Panel III indicators provide clues as to the extent of commitment of national governments to the ideal of equal rights and of concern for the welfare of women. These data are not currently available.

The series of indicators on household structure focuses on women who head households as a group of women who have sole responsibility for their offspring (Table 5). The particular combination of indicators compares such women to men. An extended treatment of this subsector is included here in order to highlight the particularities of this group of women, though detailed tables are not included for reasons of space.

For the region as a whole about 32 per cent of household heads are female with highest proportions recorded for St. Kitts (47 per cent) and lowest for Guyana (22 per cent). Of the 14 territories, eight record proportions in excess of 40 per cent, and three record proportions of 25 per cent and less. In general, countries with a significantly large Black population are those recording a high proportion of female-headed households while the converse holds for countries with significant proportions of East Indians

(Trinidad, Guyana) or native Indians (Belize). One territory, British Virgin Islands, which is known to have a very high proportion of migration affecting both sexes, also reflects relatively low proportions.

The median age for both sexes is well over 40 years for all territories, with females reflecting consistently higher median ages than males in all but two cases. Indeed in two territories - Guyana and the Caymans - the median age for females amounts to about eight years higher than that for males. Much of this can probably be explained in terms of the prevailing pattern of mortality in which females survive males at the higher end of the age range. In fact, well over one third of female single person households consist of women over 65 years of age. Indeed, in the Turks, the proportion rises to as high as 54 per cent.

Male and female household heads in the Caribbean maintain households of approximately similar size. In general, male-headed households tend to be somewhat larger than females, the average for the 14 territories being 4.8 for males and 4.0 for females. Highest household sizes are recorded at 5.7 for males in Guyana and 4.9 for females in St. Vincent. Lowest for both sexes are evident in Montserrat where the value for males is 3.5 and for females 3.4.

Approximately one-quarter of all male household heads in the Caribbean have never been married. This proportion ranges from a high 45.4 per cent in Jamaica to a low 10.7 per cent in the Caymans. By contrast, almost 50 per cent of female household heads have never been married, ranging from a high 67.3 per cent in St. Vincent to a low 29.8 per cent in Guyana. Differences between male and female proportions are relatively large, amounting to as high as 30 percentage points in the case of Montserrat, with the lowest difference being 12.2 percentage points recorded for Trinidad-Tobago.

In the Caribbean, 25.1 per cent of all female heads of household are in married unions, the largest proportion so recorded. They are followed, in order of numerical importance by women not living with their husbands (19.9 per cent), by women not living with their common law partners (15.2 per cent) and by women in common law unions (11.3 per cent). A long way behind come women in visiting unions (3.6 per cent) and women who never had a common law partner or husband (1.2 per cent).[5] There is nothing in the data to indicate the extent to which women in various union types are dependent on their own or their partner's financial resources for their livelihood. According to the census definition the title head of household indicates that the

household depends on the person so recognised to conduct its affairs, including its economic affairs. Thus, the type of union in which female household heads are involved indicates the possible existence of a supplementary or an alternative source of income to the household. In terms of union designations, over half of the women in these households are without such supplementary income originating from the presence of a male in the household.

Unfortunately the union status data are not cross-classified with data on work or income, but from the low proportions of female household heads involved in paid employment it may be assumed that it is the women without resident partners who are the working women.

The degree to which household heads may be expected to discharge their responsibilities may be demonstrated by reference to their level of educational attainment, their involvement in paid employment and their involvement in non-agricultural occupations.

Education

Male household heads tend to be better educated than their female counterparts, in that more males proceed to a secondary and university level of education than females, but the differences between the sexes are marginal except at university level. Differences in favour of the males range from 16.8 percentage points in the Caymans to 1.2 percentage points in Jamaica. In the region 85.7 per cent of males and 88.3 per cent of females have attained a level no higher than primary. Among males this range extends from a high 92.5 per cent in St. Lucia to a low 36.5 per cent in Barbados. Among females the range is from 96.8 per cent in St. Vincent to 47.5 per cent in Barbados. Differences between males and females range from 16.8 percentage points to 1.2 percentage points in favour of the males. In every territory, it is the females who show higher percentages stopping their education at the primary level. Even in Barbados, which portrays the most favourable education position, the difference is as much as 11 percentage points in favour of the males.

At the secondary level, not much difference is evident. For the 14 territories, 9.5 per cent of the male household heads and 8.6 per cent of the female household heads have achieved a secondary level of education. At this level, there is much wider territorial variation. Among male household heads, 58.9 per cent attained a secondary level of education in Barbados as compared with 3.3 per cent

in St. Lucia. Among females, the range is between 51.0 per cent in Barbados and 1.9 per cent in St. Lucia and Montserrat. If educational attainment relates to ability to discharge responsibility, it would therefore seem that household heads in Barbados, both male and female, are best equipped in the region to discharge their household affairs.

For the region as a whole, only 2.4 per cent of male household heads and 0.6 per cent of female household heads have achieved a university level of education. Of particular interest is the position of the four largest territories. Barbados shows the highest proportion of its male household heads with diplomas and degrees (3.6 per cent) while the second highest is Trinidad with 3 per cent. Among female household heads it is Trinidad which shows the highest proportion with diplomas and degrees (1.1 per cent), while Jamaica is second with 1.0 per cent. Lowest in both cases is Guyana. Among the small territories the proportion of female household heads with a university education is consistently less than 1 per cent, except in those territories known to have significant numbers of foreign born residents, many of whom tend to be professionals.

Work

Over 80 per cent of all male household heads were working in 1970. This compares to a low 37.9 per cent for female household heads. This ranges from the high 45.5 per cent for Barbados to the low 28.4 per cent for Belize. This masks an important distinction which needs to be drawn in terms of membership of the labour force.[6] On the basis of the conventional definition, 89.2 per cent of the male household heads are in the labour force as compared with 42.4 per cent of female household heads. Within the labour force however, this wide differentiation disappears. The largest category within the group is the category 'worked' which accounts for 93.0 per cent of the male and 89.3 per cent of the female elements. Territorial variation is limited. Among males the range is from 98.9 per cent in the Caymans and British Virgin Islands to 91.9 per cent in Trinidad. Among females, the range is from 98.5 per cent in Belize to 84.3 per cent in Jamaica. In fact, proportions of the labour force who work are markedly similar for male and female household heads.

The second most important category numerically is 'other seekers' which amounts to 40 per cent of the total for each sex. 'Wanted work' and 'available' accounts for 2.4 per cent of the males and 5.0 per cent of the females, while proportions of less than 1 per cent are reported as

'students' and 'seeking first job'. This reflects the age of distribution of the household heads, since the latter two categories tend to consist of young persons who have just left school, very few of whom would be deemed household heads.

Of interest are the categories 'others seeking work' and 'wanted work and available', since these contain elements related to levels of unemployment amongst persons who had previously been employed - an important consideration in respect of those responsible for conducting the affairs of their households. Total unemployment may be taken to include 'first job seekers' and 'student' and 'out of work' persons previously employed. According to the estimates built up from these sources, the total unemployment among household heads amounts to 48,000 of which 37,600 or 76.9 per cent consists of males and 13,300 or 23.1 per cent consists of females which initially suggests extensive unemployment among males. However, in terms of rates, i.e. the proportion of unemployed as a proportion of the labour force, this reflects unemployment rates of 6.77 for males and 10.66 for females in the region. In every category of unemployed female rates exceed male. Among the males, it is the 'others seeking work' who contribute the most towards unemployment, the rate of Trinidad-Tobago for this group being as high as 6.9 per cent. By contrast among the females it is the 'wanted work and available' group which contributes the most, ranging from 8.3 per cent in Jamaica to less than half of 1 per cent in Belize and the Caymans.

Interestingly enough it is the larger territories which show the highest rates of unemployment. Among male household heads, Trinidad-Tobago shows the highest unemployment rate of 8.9 per cent as compared with the lowest rate of 1.1 per cent shown by the Caymans. Among female household heads it is Jamaica which reveals the remarkably high unemployment rate of 15.7 per cent, this is followed by Trinidad-Tobago with 7.5 per cent.

Occupation

In terms of their occupation in the employment sector, more female household heads are involved in non-agricultural activities than males - except Barbados, Montserrat and Turks. Among those activities, it is in the service occupations that the greatest proportion of female heads of household are to be found, one-third of their number being located in this occupational category. Only 8.2 per cent are in professional and administrative jobs, 20.9 per cent in clerical and sales and another 18.5 in production and other occupations.

The distribution of males is quite different. Of the 64.7 per cent involved in non-agriculture activities, about one-third are in production, one-tenth in clerical and sales and also in a miscellaneous group consisting mostly of non-agricultural labourers and 7 per cent in professional and administrative occupations. This pattern prevails in virtually every territory.

Two indexes may be attempted using these data. The first 'index of femaleness of occupations' indicates clearly the extent to which females dominate the service industry, are conspicuous in the sales, clerical and professional occupations and are notably absent from agriculture, production and administrative occupations. Despite some territorial variations, this pattern is evident throughout the region and is probably best depicted by the four larger territories. Among these, the index of femaleness is as high as 0.64 in Jamaica and Barbados, territories with significant sectors of their economy devoted to tourism. But even in Guyana, which records the lowest index among the four (0.36) and indeed in the region, this is the occupation which records the highest index among the range of occupational groups covered.

The second index - the index of dissimilarity - uses the approach of Duncan and Duncan [22] and of Gross [32] to measure the extent to which the male (or female) proportional distribution would need to change in order to make the proportional distribution of the two groups identical. For the region, the index amounts to 42, indicating a relatively high degree of occupational dissimilarity between the two sexes. Indexes vary from the high 66 of the British Virgin Islands to the low 22 of Grenada. Those populations which record proportions of over half of the female work force engaged in service occupations, such as the BVI and Caymans, register the highest indexes. Those populations in which only about one-fifth of female workers are located in service occupations, e.g. Grenada and St. Vincent, register the lowest indexes. Among the remaining territories the indexes range between 30 and 49 indicating fairly extensive sexual differentiation in the occupational composition of the work force of the region.

To summarize then, females account for about one-third of all household heads in the region. They tend to be older and to live alone to a greater extent than men. Their household sizes are approximately the same as those for men. About half of them live in residential unions, the remainder (46 per cent) either no longer residing with their partner, or participating in a visiting union (4.8 per cent). They tend to be less educated than their male counterparts and to

be less engaged in paid employment (including self-employment). Within the labour force, they are equally involved in work as males, but the pattern of their occupational distribution is markedly different.

I. 2. The second sector within the resources panel relates to *Physical Resources*. The list of indicators selected are:

1. Density of population
2. Arable land area
3. Per capita arable land
4. Index of femaleness in agricultural occupations.

This sector is intended to reflect the extent to which the region is dependent on its agricultural resources and the extent to which women are involved in the exploitation of this resource. Ideally, this sector should also provide comparable information on the mineral resources of the region, only three territories - Jamaica, Trinidad-Tobago and Guyana (bauxite, oil, gold, diamonds) depending significantly on the development of such resources. Of these, data on the value of exports of the relevant mineral are only available for Trinidad-Tobago. Data on female involvement in the mining industries while available amounts to very small numbers. These two indicators have therefore been omitted. Indicator 4 appears as part of the Table 8 but the remaining indicators are not presented and analysed here.

I. 3. The third sector of the resources panel refers to *Economic Resources* and their performance.

The first set of indicators relates specifically to structural patterns of property ownership and are concerned with issues of inequality and dependency. Indicators include the following:

I. 3.1. *Patterns of Property Ownership*

1. Proportion of foreign owned property
2. Proportion of national property owned by government

3. Proportion of private national property owned by individual family

4. Index of femaleness of individual/ family property ownership according to ethnic group

5. Index of femaleness of individual/ family property ownership according to socio-economic groups.

Together these indicators speak to questions of 'plantation-survival' mainly through notions of dependency on external systems in terms of production systems, values, ideas and through notions of inequality through the system of class differentiation. Data to explore these issues are difficult, but not impossible to come by. A recent study in Barbados demonstrates both of these propositions [31]. Whether such a compilation is feasible on a regional scale is not immediately clear, but this will be explored at a later stage of the project.

I. 3.2 *Performance*

Connected with the distribution of economic resources is the related question of the performance of those resources. Indicators of this feature need to reflect an overall level as well as the contribution of various sections of the public and private sector to that level. From the point of view of direct benefits to women, some indicator should highlight the specific contribution of the government to social services. In this regard the following indicators have been selected:

1. Per capita GNP

2. Contribution of agricultural sector to GDP

3. Contribution of manufacturing sector to GDP

4. Contribution of public sector to GDP

5. Proportion of government expenditure devoted to social services.

It is not proposed to engage in a prolonged discussion on the merits and demerits of the GNP as an indicator of levels of economic development. A considerable body of literature

attests to the growing dissatisfaction with the measure, but, to my knowledge no practical substitutes in the form of a single index have yet been adopted at an international level. In the absence of such an alternative, we are therefore restricted to the use of the GNP. Data for the construction of Indicators 2 - 5 are currently being assembled.

I. 4. *Social Mobility*

The fourth sector of this panel concerns itself with identifying a series of broadly defined socio-economic status groups, identifying the extent to which mobility occurs between these groups and measuring the extent to which women participate in this movement. The question of social stratification in the region is extremely complicated, tied as it is not only to the income/education/occupation paradigm associated with western societies, but also to issues of ethnicity, colour, parentage and, of increasing importance recently, political patronage [7, 29, 30, 57, 58]. However, to ignore the phenomenon would be to ignore an important indicator of the extent to which the stratification system overlays the position of women vis-à-vis men in these societies.

A series of indicators is proposed relating to the following:

1. Index of femaleness of each socio-economic stratum
2. Amount of mobility
3. Extent of upward mobility
4. Index of social stability
5. Index of equality of opportunity.

Data for these indicators are not yet available.

PANEL II - STATUS OF WOMEN

The term status is being used here in a purely non-technical sense of situation or circumstances. Issues of equality, power and control are subsumed under the central focus of this panel which is on the visible and non-visible aspects of women's activities.

II. I. *Sources of Livelihood*

Available data suggest that the initial focus needs to be on involvement in the production process. To this end the following indicators seem appropriate:

II. 1.1. *Involvement in Production Process*

1. Index of femaleness of employment for wages
2. Index of femaleness for self-employment
3. Index of femaleness in non-agricultural occupations
4. Index of dissimilarity of occupations
5. Proportion of female workers who attained highest secondary certification
6. Proportion of female workers covered by social security schemes
7. Index of femaleness of unemployment (15-24 and 25+)
8. Proportion of unemployed females registered with employment exchange
9. Proportion of housewives who worked during year preceding census
10. Female income distribution by sector.

Data to prepare most of the indicators are all available from the census. However, in respect of the income data, the 'not stated' and 'none' categories were combined in the published tabulations and together they account for over half of all workers. It is therefore questionable whether this source is reliable. Returns from the various Inland Revenue Departments have been published in the form of annual reports in some territories, but include no disaggregation by sex. This indicator would therefore need to await relevant survey results, as also would Indicators 6 and 8.

Attempts to trace movements in the economically active elements of these populations may be made on the basis of data on the main activity of the population during the year preceding the census.[7] Seven categories were identified:

Worked:	indicating those persons who were engaged in the production of goods and services for most of the 12 months - this included employers, employees, own account workers, unpaid workers.
Seeking First Job:	covers those persons who spent most of the year seeking their first job.
Others Seeking Work:	includes those persons who have worked previously but who spent most of the year seeking a job.
Wanted Work and Available:	covers those persons who needed a job but who did not spend most of the year job seeking.
Home Duties:	refers to persons doing household work but receiving no pay.
Student:	indicates those persons spent most of the year in school but had left by the time of the census.
Retired/ Disabled:	covers persons retired for all or most of the year.

From these categories, it is possible to build up estimates of the labour force. This may follow the conventional procedure of workers plus seekers, or it may be extended to include students and/or those wanting work and available. Whatever procedure is adopted, the major component is undoubtedly the category'worked'. Of the total labour force (i.e. including the two additional categories) workers account for 83 per cent of the males and 75 per cent of the females. For every category except student, females are outnumbered by males. According to Table 6, they account for 29 per cent of the work force, one third of the seekers, and two-fifths of those wanting work and available. In the latter categories the maximum value exceeds half. For example, Montserrat records 59 per cent of those seeking first job and 50 per cent of other seekers as female. Dominica records 58 per cent of those wanting work as female. Jamaica records 62 per cent of the students

as female. If estimates of unemployment may be derived from these four categories, then indexes of this order suggest that unemployment may be a more serious problem among females than males. In effect this is only clearly highlighted in the student category, which may be considered a critical group since it consists of recent school leavers and university students. But indications of levels of unemployment may be possible from another source.

The conventional allocation of women involved in home duties to the economically inactive sector of the population masks two features. Initially, there is that denial of the substantial work load carried by women involved in housework which has become the object of several criticisms. Additionally, there is an obscuring of the fact that such women do engage in paid employment even though housework might represent their 'main activity'. The 1970 census data indicate that in the Caribbean about one-third of such women were engaged in paid employment during the year preceding the census. Of these virtually all of them worked for periods under two months. Further, of the total adult population who worked for only two months, housewives comprised 69 per cent. In effect, the category also masks an unspecified amount of unemployment.

Workers by Age

As elsewhere in the world, the number of employed males in the Caribbean exceeds that for females. In 1970, a total of 767,600 males were engaged in paid employment (including self-employment) in the region as opposed to 317,400 females. This translates into general worker rates of 69.6 for males and 26.2 for females. For both sexes there is considerable territorial variation. Three territories show female rates over 36, while three territories record rates below 20. In terms of the age distribution, two territories, Barbados and Jamaica, show a pattern in which maximum rates occur at age 20,then taper off gradually to the end of the distribution. Two territories - Guyana and St. Vincent - record maximum rates at age 45 and 35 respectively. The remaining territories record a double peaked pattern with a primary peak at age 20 and 25 and a secondary one occurring somewhere after age 35. In none of the territories does the maximum rate for females approximate that for males.

Workers by Education

An important characteristic of the work force relates to the level of educational qualification. A detailed classification permits the identification of those points which may be considered critical for ensuring levels of employment which relate to the available training of the population. Eight categories are recognised: the first deals with workers who have received no formal certification; the second with those who have secured a school leaving certificate attesting to the satisfactory completion of the primary level of education; the third and fourth categories relate to persons who have achieved up to four 'O' level GCE passes, which may be construed as the minimum qualification necessary for entering into the semi-skilled sector of the work force. The next two categories identify those workers who possess minimum entry qualifications for institutions of higher learning and who may be regarded as those workers capable of being trained at the skilled level and beyond. The next two categories cover those workers with professional or academic qualifications.

Among both males and females, the highest proportion of workers are to be found in that group which has received no formal educational qualification. For the region as a whole, 87 per cent of the male work force and 77 per cent of the female are in this category. Next in order of numerical importance is the combined GCE categories which account for 9 per cent of the work force of both sexes. These are followed by the group possessing school leaving certificates which account for four per cent of the females and six per cent of the males. The proportion of workers with diplomas or degrees constitutes the smallest group, representing two per cent of male workers and three per cent of females.

In terms of the index of femaleness, the indicator chosen to depict the relative position of females, it is evident that female workers may be slightly better qualified (Table 7). At the regional level, females represent only 27 per cent of those workers with no qualification. Among workers with school leaving certificates, they constitute about two-fifths of workers, while they constitute virtually half of workers with minimum GCE 'O' level passes. At higher GCE levels, their proportion is reduced to about a third, whilst at the diploma stage female workers account for two-fifths of workers. Lowest proportions are evident among workers with degrees among whom females number only one-fifth. Territorial variations from these regional proportions are not excessive and attest to the fact that except at the extreme ends of the distribution, female workers may be said to be equally well qualified as male.

Workers by Occupation

Among the nine occupational groups into which the work force has been classified, it is evident that the pattern of male/female participation is markedly different. At the regional level, males are predominantly involved in production and agriculture, while females are concentrated in service and clerical occupations. In the smaller territories, where agriculture is the major economic sector, females are primarily involved in agriculture (e.g. St. Lucia, Grenada, Dominica, St. Kitts).

In terms of the proportion of workers who are female in each occupational category, only the service and clerical occupations record values of more than 50 per cent. At the regional level, female workers amount to 66 per cent of all service workers, with a range of 73 per cent in St. Kitts to 48 per cent in Guyana. Data from Barbados indicate that almost three-fifths of female service workers are engaged in domestic service, a feature characteristic of developing countries [41]. In the clerical occupations, females amount to 53 per cent of all such workers, ranging from the high 80 per cent of the Caymans to 38 per cent in Guyana. This has always been a consistently female occupational group. In two other groups - professional and technical and sales - the proportion of female workers approaches 50 per cent, the regional average standing at 47 per cent and 46 per cent respectively. In the case of the former, the traditionally female occupations of school teachers (primary and secondary) and nurses together account for the majority of female professionals. In the case of sales workers, some territories reflect a substantial proportion in the sub-group hawkers, peddlers and street vendors, a category traditionally associated with females; other territories reflect a tendency towards formal employment in commercial business houses as 'sales persons'.

Indexes of dissimilarity intended to highlight the extent of sexual differentiation in the occupational structure are presented in Table 9. At the regional level, the index stands at 47, a level which must be considered significantly high. Values of the index range from the 68 of the British Virgin Islands to the 30 of Grenada, which, despite being the lowest value still represents a fairly substantial amount of dissimilarity in occupational composition. The position of the four largest units merits special attention. Here, highest indices are recorded for Jamaica (54), Guyana (50) and Trinidad-Tobago (42), the three territories with significant mining sectors which rely on heavy male employment. Barbados, with no such sector records an index of 36. These levels suggest that in 1970

virtually half of the female workers in the four largest territories would have to shift their occupation in order to produce a distribution identical to that of the male workers. This implies a substantial amount of occupational segregation in the region.

Workers by Employment Status

The 1970 census provides data on the employment status of economically active persons in terms of government employees, non-government employees, self-employed persons, with and without paid help, and unpaid workers.

The indices of femaleness indicate that in the region as a whole the proportion of females among paid employees amounts to virtually one-third in both the government and non-government sectors. A similar proportion obtains amongst unpaid workers whilst among self-employed persons, 23 per cent of those operating with paid help are women.

There are, of course, territorial variations. In the largest territory, Jamaica, for example, women constitute 42 per cent of all government workers and 36 per cent of all non-government workers. By contrast in Guyana, the corresponding proportions are 24 per cent and 18 per cent respectively. In Barbados, women amount to 44 per cent of self-employed persons operating with no help and 47 per cent of those employing some help. These proportions illustrate clearly, the importance of women in the informal sector of the Barbadian economy.

The second indicator chosen - the distribution index for females - when compared with that for males reveals a high degree of similarity in the composition of the work force of the two sexes when classified according to employment status (Table 11). The most important single category is the paid employees which accounts, at the regional level, for 81 per cent of all females in the work force, of which 61 per cent are non-government and 20 per cent government employees. The second most important category is the own account workers who account for 17 per cent of all female workers, while a small 2 per cent of females are recorded as unpaid workers.

In the whole region, the non-government employees account for the largest groups of female employees. Highest proportion, 78 per cent, is recorded for the Caymans which is followed closely by Barbados with 76 per cent. In four territories the proportion ranges between 60 per cent and 70 per cent, while for all, except the Turks where the

proportion is 48 per cent, the proportions stand in the high fifties.

Among the government employees who rank second in importance, territorial differences range from 36 per cent in the Turks to 14 per cent in the Caymans. As is to be expected, the four largest territories account for the majority of this type of worker in the region; female government workers amount to 28 per cent in Guyana and 27 per cent in Trinidad, but proportions in excess of one-fifth are also to be found in St. Vincent (28 per cent), Belize (25 per cent), Montserrat and Grenada (22 per cent). All other territories record proportions of less than 20 per cent.

When we look at the self-employed category, largest proportions are reported in the case of Jamica and St. Lucia which are the only territories in which proportions of more than 20 per cent obtain. Lowest proportion is found in the Cayman Islands in which only six per cent of female workers are found in this category.

II. 1.2. *Other Sources*

The rationale for this sub-sector has been the alternative strategies for survival devised by women of the region. Indicators therefore need to go beyond the mere working force participation approach in order to uncover alternative sources of support. Such an approach requires indicators which would distinguish the proportion of women receiving major support from:

1. Remittances from relative(s) abroad
2. Partner-resident or non-resident
3. Child(ren)
4. Involvement in informal savings schemes
5. Participation in income-generating activity outside of formal sector (individually or collectively).

Data from which to derive indicators of this nature have been generated through the ISER WIC Project.

II. 2. *Emotional Support*

Following from the premise that women derive emotional support from sources beyond the family, this sector seeks to identify some of these sources. The range of indicators envisaged covers reproduction, motherhood, leisure activities and job satisfaction.

II. 2.1. *Involvement in Reproductive Unions*

1. Proportion of women (15-44) currently in union
2. Proportion of women (45-64) currently in union
3. Difference in mean age at marriage of males and females
4. Proportion of women (15-64) no longer in union
5. Proportion of women currently in a union who are employed
6. Proportion of women not currently in a union who are employed.

The experience of those societies in which exposure to childbearing is synonymous with entry into marriage is not relevant in the Caribbean where sizeable proportions of women who may be deemed to be at risk of childbearing participate in a number of sexual associations other than marriage [52]. On the basis of current marital status only about one-third of women within the ages 15-64 are currently married, whereas virtually 70 per cent of all births occurring are deemed to be illegitimate by virtue of the fact that they occur outside of a legally sanctioned union. By contrast among women of completed fertility, i.e. those aged 45-64, almost 70 per cent can be shown to have been ever married, with proportions ranging from 83 per cent in Guyana to 52 per cent in St. Vincent.

The alternative approach has been the use of the term 'union type' to indicate the type of union in which childbearing is taking or has taken place. Census approach has been, firstly to define three basic union types - married, common law and visiting. Then there is an attempt to subdivide that group of women who are not currently in a union in terms of NLH, NLCLP and never had H/CLP.[8] This approach,

while representing an advance, prevents differentiation of those women who have never been in any type of union from those who may be in a visiting union but who did not have a child in the year preceding the census. The approach further differentiates between the current (at census time) situation of women aged 15-44 and the position of women 45-64 at the time of their 45th birthday.

On this basis it is evident that women in the region are heavily involved in childbearing activities. Among women in the childbearing age span, 59.4 per cent are currently involved in unions of which 36.3 are in married unions, 18.2 in common law and 4.9 in visiting (Table 12). In terms of territories, it is the smallest territories, Caymans, Turks, British Virgin Islands and those territories with significant Indian populations, Guyana, Trinidad-Tobago, Belize, which record the highest proportions in married unions, while among the remaining territories about one-quarter of women in this age group are in married unions. The largest territory, Jamaica, records the largest proportion, 25.7, in common law unions. All territories (except St. Vincent and Dominica) record less than 10 per cent in visiting unions. Very small proportions are found in the NLH and NLCLP categories, but in the never in a union category the proportion ranges from 26.9 per cent in the British Virgin Islands to 48.0 in Montserrat.

Among older women the position is generally the same except that the proportion in married unions is much higher, 54.4 per cent of women being found in these unions. By contrast, common law unions account for only 11.8 per cent of these women. However, together, these two residential unions account for about two-thirds of all women 45-64 as compared with one-half of the younger women.

II. 2.2 *Extent of Motherhood*

Here the comparisons relate to different groups of women. Disaggregation in terms of age, union type, parity, main economic activity is possible, but has not been offered in the following list:

1. Mean age at birth of first child
2. Proportion of reproductive age span spent in childbearing (women aged 45-64)
3. Proportion of working women who are mothers (15-64)

4. Proportion of housewives who are mothers (15-64)

5. Child-mother ratio for all women (14-64)

6. Child-mother ratio for working women (14-64)

7. Child-mother ratio for housewives (14-64)

8. Child-mother ratio for women currently in a union (14-64)

9. Child-mother ratio for women not currently in a union (14-64).

Aggregate indicators of the type portrayed in No. 1 and No.2 suggest the amount of time which may be available for diversion from childbearing and childcaring into other activities from which the women may derive satisfaction. Indicators 3 and 4 point to the number of women for whom childbearing and childcare is a primary function.

In the region as a whole virtually three-quarters of all adult women are mothers (Table 13). The territorial range is from 75.5 per cent in St. Vincent to 67.0 per cent in Trinidad-Tobago. In terms of unions, all of the women classified as being in visiting unions are mothers.[9] They are followed closely by women no longer living with a CLP who record 94.8 per cent of their number as mothers. Next in order of priority are women in married and common law unions, who record 89 per cent of their number as mothers, and women no longer living with husbands of whom 87.2 per cent are mothers. Women who have never had a husband or common law partner record the lowest proportion of their number as mothers, only one-quarter of this group being so designated.

The remaining five indicators examine actual fertility levels of women in unions using simple child-mother ratios. For the region as a whole the average is 4.5 children per mother with a range of 3.7 in the Caymans to 5.2 in the Turks. In terms of union status, fertility is highest for women in married unions (5.2) and women who no longer live with husbands whose average is 4.9 children (Table 14). These are followed by women in common law unions (4.4), women NLCLP (3.9), women in visiting unions (2.8) and women who have never had a husband or common law partner (2.7). This pattern is retained throughout the region with virtually

no variation. In terms of main activity, the value for women engaged in home duties (4.9) exceeds that for women in the work force (3.9), who in turn have higher ratios than women seeking work. Again, this pattern is maintained throughout the region.

II. 2.3. Turning to the sub-sector *Leisure Activities*, the proposed framework seeks to identify the time available to women to engage in activities intended for their pleasure, personal development and for maintaining social ties and the extent of their involvement in such activities. Data for this sub-sector are not currently available. It is proposed to generate these from the ISER Project in order to obtain the following kinds of indicators:

1. Amount of time available for leisure
2. Frequency of attendance at cinema
3. Frequency of church attendance
4. Frequency of contact with relatives
5. Frequency of contact with friends
6. Time spent on (creative) hobbies
7. Time spent on leisure activities outside the home.

II. 2.4. Finally, the emotional support sector is concerned with *Job Satisfaction*, for which indicators are yet to be devised.

II. 3. *Power and Authority*

Because of the shift of emphasis from an equation of power solely with political power, a number of indicators outside of the arena of politics have been derived.

Familial	1. Index of female autonomy in decision-making
	2. Contribution of female income to total household income
Economic	3. Index of femaleness of administrative and managerial occupations

Social Participation	4.	Proportion of women who are members of women's voluntary associations
	5.	Proportion of women who are members of religious organizations
	6.	Proportion of women workers who are members of trade unions
	7.	Proportion of women who hold office in such groups
Political	8.	Index of femaleness of registered voters
	9.	Proportion of females who voted in most recent election
	10.	Index of femaleness of political membership
	11.	Index of femaleness of participation in party work
	12.	Index of femaleness of office holders in poltical parties.

PANEL III - LEGAL PROVISIONS

This panel concerns itself with the delineation of provisions made at the national level to ensure that women are provided with the legal machinery to take an independent part in the social, economic, political and cultural life of their societies. These indicators take the form of the age of certain institutions and the legal provisions for ensuring certain rights.

III. 1. *Age of National Institutions*

1. Years since constitutional provision of equal rights for women

2. Years since attainment of full adult suffrage

3. Years since achievement of political independence

4. Years since establishment of Women's Bureau/Commissions

5. Years since legislation granting paid maternity leave.

Scholars concerned with the status of women in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have demonstrated that the provision of such services and the constitutional guarantee of such rights has contributed greatly to the improvement in the condition of women. The state not only guarantees women full equality under the law but has also introduced a series of measures designed to provide them with a greater role in social production. In addition to providing paid leave in the event of illness or disability, as is also available to men, women are granted paid maternity leave and have been provided with a wide ranging system of maternity homes, creches and kindergartens. Women become eligible to receive old-age pension five years earlier than men, while women who have raised five or more children are eligible ten years earlier [34, 36]. Special efforts are made to improve their working conditions, to protect the health and interests of mothers and their children, to grant aid to single mothers and mothers of large families, the latter group even receiving national awards by law.

Measures such as these have permitted highly increased levels of female employment in all occupational sectors. Indeed, even though actual equality with men has not been achieved, the inequality is certainly less than obtains in most other nations. Thus, the rate of introduction of certain facilitating legal mechanisms becomes an important indicator of the philosophy underlying the policy of national governments on the position of women in their society.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODEL

The model represents a comprehensive aggregation of material intended to represent a preliminary listing of those quantifiable areas which are deemed important if the intention is to provide a statistical picture of how Caribbean women fare in their various societies. So far, the discussion has centred on the identification of a list of indicators and their rationale. This means that several fundamental aspects of indicator analysis have not yet been addressed. These include questions of data availability,

disaggregation, linkages within and between sectors, changes over time and applicability of the model to development planning. We shall look at each of these issues in turn.

Availability of Data

The model, with its various panels, sectors and subsectors, requires almost a hundred indicators of items for which data are known to be available. An undefined number awaits statistical generation, although efforts in this direction are expected shortly. Of the indicators dependent on existing data, virtually half may be constructed on the basis of the population census, the two most recently available being 1960 and 1970. The level and quality of census-taking in the region compares favourably with that prevailing in many advanced countries, thus the data may be subjected to detailed analysis with some confidence. Available reports permit the construction of indicators in the major areas of population growth and composition, educational enrolment and attainment, work, mating and fertility, household structure. They also provide basic material for estimating intercensal birth and death rates and the preparation of life tables required for the derivation of life expectancy at various ages. The difficulty with these data is, of course, the length of the intercensal interval. But as a comprehensive data source which provides material which is reliable, based on common concepts and procedures and published at a regional level, the census is unsurpassed.

Some of the indicators require inputs from the civil registration system. With a few minor variations of date, civil registration was effectively established in each of these territories during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Tests of efficiency conducted at various intervals indicate that despite some amount of variability between territories, the region as a whole had acquired a reliable standard of efficiency from the early years of this century [33]. The records from this source therefore represent a reliable source for the construction of birth, death and fertility and infant mortality rates.

Among other official statistics the agricultural census, of which the two most recent are those of 1961 and 1971, becomes an important source for the compilation of indicators relating to arable land and the distribution of land-holdings. Economic indicators other than those concerned with agriculture depend on trade statistics generated by the various statistical organizations. The minimal number of indicators

requiring base data of this kind can therefore be extracted from sources in which there tends to be regional conformity, though not necessarily reliability or simultaneity.

Several of the social indicators rely on statistics collected by various government departments in the course of their normal duties. Data collection is often perceived as incidental to the substantive work of some of these organizations, thus procedures lack systemization, specificity and regularity. In many instances the data may be collated, even up-to-date, but not published. More often than not, both publication and collation are way behind hand. Sometimes, sections of the collated data may filter into the quarterly or annual abstracts produced by the relevant statistical organization, but in the main the bulk of these data lie forgotten in official files. For the purposes of this model it would be necessary, however, to tap some of these sources. For example, records from the various ministries of health would need to be searched in order to derive indicators relating to morbidity and mortality; records from the various ministries of social welfare would need to be searched in order to derive indicators relating to the availability and use of child care facilities; records from the various ministries of education may need to be tapped in order to supplement, or update, the census material on enrolment.

In the area of politics, the main data source on formal participation should be the various electoral reports. Unfortunately, the only disaggregation offered by electoral reports is that in terms of constituency. Thus no data from this source are available on registration of female voters or on female voter turnout. Such data would therefore require material from post facto election surveys. These are relatively rare in the region and, of these, only one mentions the possibility of sexual differentiation in levels of electoral participation [60]. The greatest difference was seen in the area of organized party activities, in which area women make up the deficit of their numbers in intensity of task performance.

A recent compilation of election statistics makes it possible to highlight one aspect of the low involvement in formal political participation of women [25]. From the period covering the attainment of full adult suffrage in Barbados and the Eastern Caribbean to the present, a total of 821 candidates offered themselves for election. Of these a mere 28 or 3 per cent were women. These 28 women faced the polls for a total of 50 times. Of these they lost on 28 occasions and won on 22. This apparently high proportion of wins is biased by the fact that in two territories the wives of leaders of triumphant parties won their seats on every occasion they faced the polls. Together these two women account for 11 of the 'wins'

recorded by women. Other aspects of political participation need not await election surveys, though these must be seen as important resources, but can be gauged from such sources as the Caribbean Yearbook. The most recent issue of the latter indicates that of a total of 237 members of the House of Representatives in nine territories, 214 or 90 per cent were men as opposed to 23 women. Among ten territories there were 94 members of the Senate of which a mere 11 were women. Cabinet members total 111 of which just 5 were women [70]. Other types of participation data would need to be gauged from appropriate questions in other types of social surveys. The ISER-WIC project proposes to address this question.

Data relevant to the construction of indicators of levels of cultural development of women are not currently available. Indicators based on aggregate data such as daily newspaper circulation, number of radios and televisions, capacity of cinemas and so on can be compiled with little difficulty. But the relevance of such indicators to the specific situation of women seems highly questionable. A more meaningful approach would seem to be to try to assess the extent to which women utilize these facilities. And this can only be done by questioning the women themselves through simple surveys.

In effect, much of the basic information is available. No co-ordinated attempt to apply indicator analysis to the data has yet been made. And certainly no attempt is envisaged to do so from the perspective of women. Thus available data would need to be supplemented by data from surveys designed to focus on the situation of women.

Disaggregation

In a sense, indicators may be construed as being inherently disaggregative, however, the question of disaggregation in the indicator literature usually refers to geographical differences and to socio-economic disparities. Indicators which illustrate the latter appear to be given precedence over the former on the grounds that the three major objectives of most development plans of Third World countries are the alleviation of poverty, unemployment and inequalities of wealth and income. The argument continues that available statistical data tend to reflect the situation amongst that section of the population which is concentrated in the modern/formal sector of the economy, precisely where the three key problems are not markedly severe. Thus, uninformed by appropriate data, development planners derive and implement strategies which end up by intensifying the

very problems they set out to alleviate. From the perspective of women, this argument becomes even more valid if we accept the notion that 'women are the poorest of the poor...' [12]. If the disaggregated indicators can serve to identify specific groups of women who merit the special attention of planners, then disaggregation serves a useful purpose. If however, they serve merely to reinforce a point pertaining to a general characteristic which is known to exist at the aggregate level, e.g. poverty, then the time, effort and expense involved in the disaggregation process seems unjustifiable.

The question of disaggregation raises once more the question of data availability. The model presented here permits residential disaggregation of most of the indicators derived from census data. This may be done either in terms of the administrative subdivisions within each territory or in terms of an urban/rural dichotomy. Difficulties inherent in dealing with the latter have already been identified, but at least the census approach provides one technique of dealing with that problem and together with the available data could provide a significant portion of material for this model. However, that technique cannot be applied to the indicators derived from other sources of statistics. Indeed, for certain statistics e.g. economic, it is doubtful whether disaggregation could be possible even at the level of internal administrative areas.

The question of disparities between social groups presents more acute difficulties. Here, although the census data may be utilized in an extensive recoding exercise, the results would only indicate the numerical size of the devised categories. It would be impossible to work out frequency distributions of various characteristics obtained from the census in terms of those categories. Further, no mechanisms exist to ensure that the classification thus derived could be extended to statistics outside of the census. The exercise, too, promises to be long and tedious, while the validity of the groups so derived remains open to question.

One proxy approach relates to the formulation of a means of identifying a portion of the population which exists below a stated minimum level of living and to determine the proportion of such a population which is female. This question of identifying a poverty line in the region remains critical for developing countries. In the present context poverty indicators such as those relating to consumer expenditure on specified household items or to the proportion of consumer expenditure on food are not considered immediately relevant, except in so far as they reflect general conditions of poverty. What seems more required is the extent to which women, as a group, are existing at that level.

One further aspect of the disaggregation question relates to the linkage of indicators of spatial and socio-economic groups. An example from a study in one developing country - Zambia - illustrates a technique based on the derivation of separate indicators for rural and urban groups within certain basic dimensions, one of which is private income and consumption of public goods [23]. In this way it is possible to identify what are termed 'poverty clusters' in rural and urban areas and to analyse the factors which determine the distribution. This approach seems highly promising, based as it is on census and manpower survey data with limited inputs from household budget surveys. But again, from the perspective of women, the selection of variables becomes critical.

Finally, the question of disaggregation in the Caribbean context raises the question of the statistical propriety of so doing when we are dealing with populations which range in size from 6,000 to 1.8 million. In such of the social indicator literature which portrays case studies of disaggregation techniques, the term regional is used to refer to administrative divisions within the national boundaries and political confines of a single national entity. In the English-speaking Caribbean, we are talking about 14 such entities, 15 if we include one which has been omitted because it did not participate in the 1970 Census (Antigua), 17, if we include two others which did but are not part of the CARICOM arrangement (Bahamas and Bermuda). Of these, only two (Guyana and Belize) are large mainland territories, the remaining territories being islands ranging in size from 100 to 11,400 sq. kilometres so that space becomes an important limiting factor on the extent of territorial disaggregation possible. To talk about disaggregation within such small territories thus raises serious conceptual issues [51]. For example, it is only those territories which support populations of between 1 - 2 million that heavy concentration in urban centres and the implied levels of urban development can be clearly identified. Population structures in territories which do not show this feature tend to be essentially homogeneous, located essentially in rural areas and heavily involved in agricultural occupations. Simultaneously, the small size of the territories, permits persons to move easily into such urban areas as do exist for reasons of employment in non-agricultural occupations. Thus no marked differential in the occupational structure of the two types of areas is evident. When this is examined from the perspective of women, the extent of the differentiation is reduced even further. Data from Barbados suggest that growth patterns of the male and female work force are similar in urban and rural parishes, that differences in the proportion of workers of

either sex who are concentrated in urban parishes are minimal, and that the proportion of female workers in agricultural and non-agricultural occupations is similar in urban and rural parishes [41].

The conclusion seems to be that although the model is capable of being used to illustrate disparities, either of a spatial or of a socio-economic nature, for reasons of numerical size, such application should be restricted to the larger territories.

Linkages

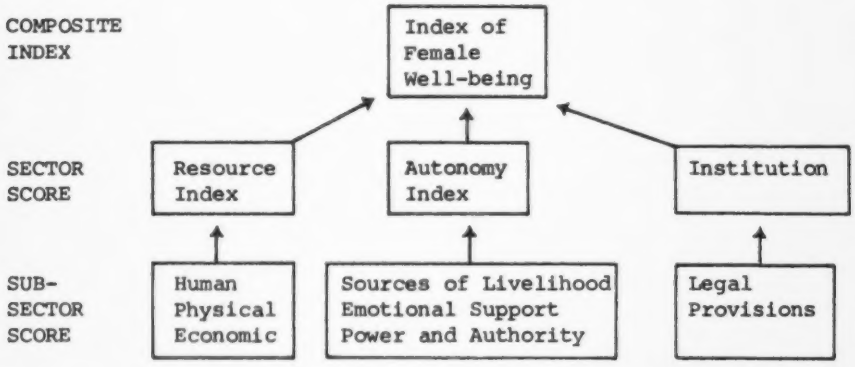
The utilization of basically simple techniques and the exploitation of available data of proven reliability have been the hallmark of this model. A deliberate effort has been made to avoid complex and elaborate methodologies which are only minimally understood and of little interest to the planners and policy makers whom models of this type purport to inform. At this stage in the development of the model it is considered preferable simply to provide basic indicators for each territory together with the mean and range for the region. This is intended as a reflection neither of the quantity nor quality of the data available, but of the exploratory nature of the present model which is, as yet, untested.

The present extensive list of indicators represents a necessary first step towards the goal of selecting those indicators which may be considered most reflective of the various dimensions in the overall situation of women. Without attempting to place an upper ceiling on the number of indicators deemed to be most desirable, it is nevertheless, evident, that the fewer the indicators, the more manageable and the more readily understood would be the model. A mathematical technique for selecting a small number of indicators from a larger list, which was originally proposed by Hellwig, could conceivably be adapted for this purpose [28]. This consists of the analysis of concomitant variance in the indicators and a variable selected to represent economic growth. Selection is made on the basis of those indicators most sensitive to changes in the economic growth index. In the present context, the choice of the dependent variable would be critical as also would be the choice of statistical technique since the number of territories is small.

Following the selection of a short list of indicators, linkages will be attempted at three levels - between the subsectors, between the sectors and between the panels. At the subsector level, it is proposed to develop a series of 'scores' by adopting a simple additive technique based on the combination of the mean and a measure of dispersion for those groups of indicators which are amenable to this treatment. This yields a composite score for each group of indicators for each territory, the combination of which

provides a sector score for each territory. It is further proposed to apply a scaling technique to these sector scores in order to produce a composite index of female well-being for each territory. The process may be depicted figuratively as follows:

Figure 1: Derivation of Composite Index of Female Well-being



Techniques for developing this format must rely on experimentation with the model.

Changes Over Time

One of the principal tenets of the social indicators literature is that such indicators should be capable of monitoring trends over time. This implies that the data on which social indicators are based should be collected, or should be capable of being collected at regular intervals. However, data bases in the Caribbean region vary greatly in terms of timeliness. Census data are compiled at decennial intervals, current statistics annually, and sample surveys may occur at any time and be focused on any topic. The task of coordinating the timing of these various compilations in order to produce data needed for the preparation of socio-economic indicators of a particular aspect of the society is considerable. Moreso since indicator analysis forms no part of the existing programmes of statistical organizations, nor, indeed, do such programmes figure in plans within the forseeable future.

If the situation of women is perceived as an important one in the fabric of the society, then consideration might be given to the possibility of including relevant questions in on-going multi-stage sample surveys such as the Continuous Sample Survey of Population in Trinidad and the Continuing Labour Force Survey of Barbados. This would provide relevant

material to conduct analyses on an annual basis. But such an approach would apply only to those territories which conduct such surveys - and that excludes the majority. An alternative suggestion might be to arrange for the inclusion of relevant questions in surveys conducted on an ad hoc basis, e.g. household budget, manpower, fertility. This approach would include a few other territories but would entail no regularity. A third approach might be to attempt to organize surveys at stated intervals aimed specifically at obtaining material for social indicators, including those required to assess the situation of women. Such surveys could probably be planned for five year intervals - the beginning, middle and end of an inter-censal period - thus ensuring enough time to identify trends and changing patterns. Such a procedure takes cognizance of the need to understand the meaning of demonstrated statistical relationships through periodic intensive research efforts concerned with the totality of women's roles as well as the wider socio-cultural context.

The present model is particularly well placed to take as its point of departure the stock data collected at the 1980 Census supplemented by a specific survey of women conducted during 1980. Thereafter the five year intervals would coincide naturally with intercensal intervals.

Applicability to Development Planning

The major objective intended by this model is the construction of an index of well-being of Caribbean women which will provide a firm basis for the determination of policies designed to involve women in the transformation of these societies. The extent to which this is possible relates only partly to the internal structure of the model itself. More importantly, the question of the applicability of indicator analysis to development planning in the region becomes a crucial determinant, and also does the question of whether the situation of women is perceived as a relevant social problem area.

Occasionally, there emerges from the extensive indicator literature a warning note about the incompatibility in conceptualization of techniques of measurement between developed and developing countries. As one observer puts it:

> We must not automatically ascribe to the 'Western' indicators the kind of universality in planning applicability in the developing countries without scrutinizing how they fit into the overall planning system [71].

It has been argued that in these countries the determination of the relevance of social indicators within the policy making and planning context rests on an adequate knowledge of the actual processes of planning [71]. Additionally, it might be argued that we need to know more precisely how planners see the inter-relationship between the social and economic aspects of development.

Caribbean economists stress that from its inception in the region, planning has been interpreted and executed as a technical exercise designed to mobilize external financing for internal programmes of social welfare. Divorced from the political process, and thus from large sections of the population, and catering mainly to the needs of those organized interest groups which have direct access to decision making, the development plans of the region have failed to effect any fundamental economic transformation or mobilization of the societies towards national goals. Indeed, as one writer puts it: "Whatever the economic plans state about unemployment and income redistribution, the only function they can serve is to rationalise this situation" [9 p.12].

In one sense, the elaboration of indicator models in the region may be viewed as simply another attempt at closing the information gap between plan targets and achievements. However, this perhaps represents too narrow a view. What they can do is to highlight the need to develop a coherent policy framework against which to derive programmatic prescriptions. The model proposed here attempts to provide a technique for illustrating that such a policy needs to recognise that inter-relationships between the social and economic sectors tend to transcend the conventional sectoral components not only at the aggregate level but also at the micro-level, whether that is construed in community or individual terms. The particular texture of a society is reflective of the patterns of these inter-relationships among the various target groups. Among women, the inter-relationships are determined partially by their reproductive function, partly by the operative sex-role differentiation system, partly by the measures devised, at the national level, to ensure that women do receive a greater share of the development pie. How women perceive these factors and how they respond determine the degree to which they may be considered 'integrated in the development process'. By re-allocating the conventional indicators, by suggesting new ones and by attempting to combine these into a composite index, the present model can serve to indicate those areas to which more attention needs to be directed by planners who are committed to the ideal of maximization of resources. For example, it draws attention to the

differential rates of unemployment of males and females, while at the same time pointing out those areas in which women have particular skills. By combining these two bits of information, policy makers may be better positioned to devise employment strategies which would take into account the available reservoir of skills. By highlighting the extent to which women are involved in child rearing and child care, the model makes it possible to consider priorities in respect of placement of child care facilities, placement of industrial sites, utilization of skills of women in home-based industries. By identifying the numbers of women bearing sole responsibility for their children and by highlighting the relative position of these women, to men and to other women, the model makes it possible to assess the need for assigning social assistance programmes specifically for this group of women. Finally, by identifying the extent to which women benefit from existing social services, the model makes it possible to establish priorities in relation to the social service needs of women as a target group.

The model also makes clear the need for close relation between planners and researchers. In the Caribbean, it is probably only in the so-called MDCs that planners and statisticians are placed to effect the kind of cross-sectoral analysis implied by this model, indeed by indicator models generally. But the constraints under which they function make it virtually impossible to effect the testing and experimentation which is necessary before such models can be operationalized. In the so-called LDCs, the problem is even more intense. Thus, the possibility raised by Yeh is very real:

> Unless there is reasonable potential for the institutionalization of social indicators within this complex content, their role is likely to be restricted to serving academic research rather than aiding the planning for national development [71 p.79].

It is submitted that an indicator model focused on women in the Caribbean region stands in even greater danger of this occurrence. On the positive side, however, since governments of the region are initiating active steps to ensure greater participation by women, it may be that a model such as this may be utilized to demonstrate firstly, the feasibility of indicator analyses in planning in the region and secondly, the need to establish closer cooperation between planners, statisticians and researchers.

CONCLUSIONS

Three major tasks now seem necessary in order to operationalize this model. These relate to:

(i) the elaboration of statistical measures designed to depict some of the indicators;

(ii) the identification of the available data sources and continued assembly of indicators based on available data;

(iii) the generation of data from which to derive indicators of those concerns not currently covered by the available data;

(iv) the derivation of techniques to reduce the size of the model without losing much of the original content.

Financial constraints in this region demand that available data sets be exploited to the maximum in order to reduce the dependence on generation of new (and expensive to obtain) data. The disadvantage here, however, is that to a large extent, existing statistical systems produce input statistics designed to measure administrative procedures rather than output statistics designed to measure the results of those procedures, thereby limiting the possibility of deriving adequate social indicators. This may, however, be an advantage in that it forces the statistician/researcher to experiment with simpler indicators and with the derivation of alternative measuring techniques. The proposed framework represents an initial step in the direction of innovation and experiment.

Table 1: Various Population Measures, 1970

Territory	Total Population 1970	Average Annual Rate of Growth 1960-70	Average Annual Crude Birth Rate 1960-70	Average Annual Crude Death Rate 1960-70	Sex Ratio, Total Population 1970	Sex Ratio, Population 15-44 1970	Youth Dependency Ratio 1970
Jamaica	1,848,500	1.4	39.1	8.2	951	906	95.4
Trinidad-Tobago	940,700	1.3	35.0	7.8	974	947	78.7
Guyana	701,900	2.3	38.5	7.7	988	966	95.6
Barbados	237,700	0.2	27.0	8.9	885	903	67.8
Belize	120,900	3.0	43.5	7.2	1,004	995	106.4
St. Lucia	100,900	1.6	43.4	10.3	895	803	110.1
Grenada	93,900	0.6	35.4	9.4	890	868	100.2
St. Vincent	87,300	0.9	43.9	11.0	896	819	116.6
Dominica	70,500	1.6	41.4	10.4	901	840	108.9
St. Kitts/Nevis	45,600	-1.1	37.7	11.6	883	847	110.0
Montserrat	11,700	-0.4	28.5	10.9	883	978	80.4
British Virgin Is.	9,800	2.2	29.4	6.8	1,130	1,289	70.4
Cayman Islands	10,500	3.3	29.8	5.5	898	876	71.5
Turks & Caicos	5,600	10.2	35.4	10.6	901	799	100.8
TOTAL	4,285,500				959	927	

Table 2: Female Enrolment Ratios and Index of Femaleness in Enrolment at Ages 5-14, 15-19+

Territory	Enrolment Ratio		Index of Femaleness	
	5-14	15-19+	5-14	15-19+
Jamaica	.9259	.4373	.4978	.5797
Trinidad-Tobago	.9382	.4430	.4981	.5235
Guyana	.8752	.3804	.4986	.4757
Barbados	.9778	.4407	.4997	.5283
Belize	.9072	.2814	.4961	.4940
St. Lucia	.9149	.2355	.4959	.5290
Grenada	.9812	.5328	.4981	.5130
St. Vincent	.9707	.3475	.4948	.5319
Dominica	.9695	.3070	.4947	.5260
St. Kitts/Nevis	.9680	.5196	.5024	.5187
Montserrat	.9664	.4449	.4991	.5600
British Virgin Is.	.9839	.4500	.5048	.5702
Cayman Islands	.9277	.5234	.4859	.5991
Turks & Caicos	.9809	.3918	.4835	.5455
Mean	.9254	.3682	.4994	.5352
High	.9839	.5328	.5048	.5991
Low	.8752	.2355	.4835	.4757

Table 3: Index of Femaleness of Educational Attainment at Different Levels

Territory	None	Infant	Prim-ary	Secon-dary	Univer-sity	Other
Jamaica	.4647	.5518	.5234	.5730	.3771	.6319
Trinidad-Tobago	.6648	.5610	.4961	.5106	.2801	.5840
Guyana	.6634	.5714	.5064	.4443	.2286	.6083
Barbados	.5490	.6241	.6007	.5354	.3211	.6168
Belize	.5040	.5215	.5078	.5041	.2831	.4716
St. Lucia	.5357	.5697	.5681	.5588	.2646	.5675
Grenada	.6037	.5625	.5586	.5476	.2813	.6161
St. Vincent	.5764	.7500	.5693	.5296	.2236	.5284
Dominica	.5468	.6842	.5629	.5121	.3022	.5215
St. Kitts/Nevis	.5476	.6522	.5608	.5546	.3211	.5290
Montserrat	.5671	.6667	.5558	.5547	.3403	.5556
British Virgin Is.	.3900	.3636	.4407	.5107	.2800	.4199
Cayman Islands	.5395	.5000	.5700	.5364	.2740	.5859
Turks & Caicos	.6786	.5000	.5687	.5724	.3304	.4250
Mean	.5869	.5673	.5198	.5246	.3194	.6041
High	.6648	.6842	.6007	.5730	.3771	.6319
Low	.3900	.3636	.4407	.4443	.2236	.4199

Table 4: Index of Femaleness of Educational Qualifications and Special Training

Territory	None	G.C.E. 'O' or 'A'	Diploma/ Degree	Other	Special Training
Jamaica	.5137	.5425	.4458	.6259	.4422
Trinidad-Tobago	.5284	.4795	.3583	.5663	.3606
Guyana	.4426	.3794	.2360	.5724	.3994
Barbados	.5363	.5247	.3744	.6155	.4210
Belize	.5128	.4513	.3793	.5244	.3866
St. Lucia	.6339	.5142	.3339	.5443	.4644
Grenada	.5910	.5006	.2886	.5565	.3586
St. Vincent	.5634	.4782	.3136	.4900	.3492
Dominica	.4877	.5637	.3357	.5920	.4234
St. Kitts/Nevis	.5750	.5334	.3727	.5767	.4884
Montserrat	.5552	.5242	.4566	.5185	.4680
British Virgin Is.	.5065	.5080	.3441	.4724	.3993
Cayman Islands	.5402	.4549	.4149	.5833	.3779
Turks & Caicos	.5204	.6405	.4074	.6000	.4271
Mean	.5211	.4843	.3837	.5924	.3992
High	.6339	.6405	.4566	.6259	.4884
Low	.4426	.3794	.2360	.4724	.3492

Table 5: Various Characteristics of Household Heads

Territory	Proportion (%) of Households Headed by Women	Median Age of Female Household Heads	Mean Size of Households Headed by Women	Proportion (%) of Female Household Heads never Married	Proportion (%) of Female Household Heads not in Union	Proportion (%) of Female Household Heads with only Primary Education	Proportion (%) of Female Household Heads in Work Force	Index of Dissimilarity of Occupations
Jamaica	33.8	48.9	3.9	62.4	47.9	92.4	40.0	48.4
Trinidad-Tobago	27.0	51.0	4.1	34.9	48.1	89.2	30.6	39.0
Guyana	22.4	49.7	4.5	29.8	55.9	90.7	31.1	47.3
Barbados	42.9	54.9	3.7	54.3	41.9	47.5	45.5	43.2
Belize	24.8	48.4	4.7	44.1	43.2	93.8	28.4	54.1
St. Lucia	40.9	48.7	4.1	56.3	38.7	96.6	39.8	31.3
Grenada	45.3	52.4	4.5	58.3	46.8	95.5	45.4	22.0
St. Vincent	45.4	49.3	4.9	67.3	36.1	96.8	38.7	24.9
Dominica	42.4	50.3	4.1	57.1	48.2	96.0	44.1	30.7
St. Kitts/Nevis	46.6	51.4	4.1	59.7	44.3	93.8	40.8	33.5
Montserrat	43.7	58.6	3.4	59.9	44.8	96.1	34.5	40.7
British Virgin Is.	24.3	46.3	4.0	47.4	41.4	88.6	44.2	66.3
Cayman Islands	35.5	52.2	4.7	32.2	30.4	89.9	34.8	62.3
Turks & Caicos	40.3	44.6	4.0	32.1	33.9	93.2	35.2	33.8
Mean	32.0		4.0		47.5	88.3	37.9	41.8
High	46.6	54.9	4.9	67.3	55.9	96.8	45.5	66.3
Low	22.4	44.6	3.4	29.8	30.4	47.5	30.6	22.0

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Table 6: Index of Femaleness in Main Activity of Population Aged 14 Years and Over

Territory	Worked	Seeking First Job	Other Seekers	Wanted Work and Available	Student
Jamaica	.3211	.4003	.3831	.4750	.6197
Trinidad-Tobago	.2490	.2873	.1772	.2407	.5869
Guyana	.1877	.2715	.1716	.2167	.6436
Barbados	.3888	.5463	.4814	.5142	.5467
Belize	.1841	.1725	.1007	.0685	.4298
St. Lucia	.3489	.4369	.4048	.4362	.6033
Grenada	.3765	.5283	.4917	.4672	.5759
St. Vincent	.3498	.4439	.3828	.4183	.5544
Dominica	.3680	.4283	.4987	.5769	.5605
St. Kitts/Nevis	.3752	.5053	.4628	.4741	.4727
Montserrat	.3447	.5943	.5000	.5076	.5556
British Virgin Is.	.2640	.4476	.2500	.5185	.5807
Cayman Islands	.3482	.3714	.1765	.3824	.5745
Turks & Caicos	.3623	.3542	.1212	.3000	.4167
Mean	.2925	.3447	.2915	.4342	.6120
High	.3888	.5943	.5000	.5769	.6197
Low	.1841	.1725	.1212	.0685	.4167

Table 7: Index of Femaleness of Education Qualifications of Workers

Territory	None	School Leaving	G.C.E. 'O' 1-2	G.C.E. 'O' 3-4	G.C.E. 'O' - 5 G.C.E. 'A' - 1	G.C.E. 'A' 2+	Diploma	Degree
Jamaica	.2951	.5976	.5467	.5374	.4912	.4068	.5098	.2847
Trinidad-Tobago	.2199	.2888	.3849	.4090	.4256	.3448	.3727	.2039
Guyana	.1565	.2322	.4046	.3577	.2766	.2536	.1754	.1489
Barbados	.3806	.3881	.5003	.5092	.4657	.3161	.4018	.2084
Belize	.1438	.2874	.4587	.4441	.3014	.2623	.3628	.2312
St. Lucia	.3241	.5145	.5051	.4959	.4579	.3750	.2957	.2000
Grenada	.3686	.4888	.5528	.5093	.4672	.2436	.2184	.1872
St. Vincent	.3377	.5074	.4585	.4433	.4187	.5278	.3305	.1938
Dominica	.3491	.5082	.5803	.5531	.4291	.4333	.3274	.2685
St. Kitts/Nevis	.3586	.4534	.5276	.5376	.4959	.3171	.4089	.2000
Montserrat	.3217	.4387	.5652	.5610	.4000	.4375	.5000	.2794
British Virgin Is.	.2194	.4000	.5593	.5323	.3661	.2174	.3743	.1371
Cayman Islands	.3190	.5000	.4706	.5152	.3400	.1905	.4239	.2111
Turks & Caicos	.3193	.5125	.7727	.5455	.2778	.4286	.3539	.0588
Mean	.2694	.4044	.4659	.4633	.4245	.3494	.4133	.2324
High	.3806	.5976	.7727	.5610	.4959	.5278	.5098	.2847
Low	.1438	.2322	.3849	.3577	.2766	.1905	.1754	.0588

Table 3: Working Population Aged 15 Years and Over by Major Occupational Group and Sex, 1891-1970

Table 8: Index of Femaleness of Occupational Groups

Territory	Professional and Technical	Administrative and Managerial	Clerical	Transport and Communications	Sales	Service	Agriculture	Production	Labs N.E.C.
Jamaica	.5354	.1230	.6212	.5742	.5561	.7491	.0857	.1924	.1387
Trinidad	.4174	.0842	.4673	.1321	.2857	.5410	.1466	.1002	.0960
Guyana	.3990	.0578	.3763	.0113	.3234	.4756	.0866	.0665	.0386
Barbados	.3933	.1070	.5862	.0782	.5646	.6474	.3654	.1714	.1687
Belize	.5341	.0893	.4306	.0507	.3187	.5857	.0386	.0851	.0142
St. Lucia	.5727	.1870	.6234	.1622	.6757	.7098	.2498	.1743	.2771
Grenada	.5082	.1636	.5184	.2135	.5073	.6940	.3677	.1686	.2232
St. Vincent	.5044	.1154	.5745	.1827	.4521	.7032	.2846	.1688	.3341
Dominica	.6000	.1575	.6031	.1990	.7038	.7572	.2622	.1688	.2577
St. Kitts/Nevis	.5756	.1062	.5170	.2157	.5761	.7326	.3306	.0939	.1062
Montserrat	.5277	.2157	.6194	.3143	.5442	.6532	.3239	.0517	.0909
British Virgin Is.	.4043	.1984	.6471	.1905	.5663	.6556	.0337	.0241	.0084
Cayman Islands	.3140	.2232	.7595	.6452	.5122	.7267	.0333	.0488	.0128
Turks & Caicos	.5309	.0714	.5741	.4667	.5455	.4981	.2806	.1221	.3333
Mean	.4697	.1056	.5310	.3114	.4619	.6613	.1317	.1432	.1175
High	.6000	.2232	.7595	.6452	.7038	.7326	.3677	.1924	.3341
Low	.3140	.0714	.3763	.0113	.2857	.4756	.0333	.0241	.0084

Table 9: Distribution Index of Female Workers by Occupational Group and Index of Dissimilarity

Territory	Professional and Technical	Administrative and Managerial	Clerical	Transport and Communications	Sales	Service	Agriculture	Production	Labs N.E.C.	Index of Dissimilarity
Jamaica	.1126	.0028	.1299	.0189	.1359	.3398	.0802	.1509	.0291	54.1
Trinidad-Tobago	.1675	.0044	.2038	.0062	.1036	.2655	.0881	.1352	.0257	42.4
Guyana	.2117	.0026	.1624	.0005	.1188	.2662	.1309	.0891	.0179	49.6
Barbados	.0964	.0040	.1397	.0030	.1366	.3260	.1472	.1266	.0207	36.3
Belize	.2481	.0027	.1323	.0027	.1282	.2966	.0713	.1106	.0075	60.8
St. Lucia	.1263	.0048	.1002	.0027	.1399	.1851	.2951	.1254	.0206	39.2
Grenada	.1043	.0028	.0861	.0043	.0908	.2438	.3243	.1274	.0162	29.7
St. Vincent	.1281	.0025	.0842	.0056	.0917	.2475	.2043	.1279	.1081	33.5
Dominica	.1125	.0032	.0888	.0053	.1261	.2291	.2980	.0912	.0458	40.5
St. Kitts/Nevis	.1360	.0027	.0972	.0049	.1285	.2639	.2992	.0560	.0117	39.6
Montserrat	.1454	.0088	.1333	.0088	.1237	.3237	.2032	.0498	.0032	47.1
British Virgin Is.	.1692	.0240	.1982	.0040	.1411	.4154	.0100	.0360	.0020	67.8
Cayman Islands	.1101	.0212	.2193	.0169	.1067	.4750	.0042	.0440	.0025	62.4
Turks & Caicos	.2124	.0041	.1278	.0144	.1113	.2680	.1134	.1278	.0206	39.8
Mean	.1334	.0034	.1428	.0113	.1258	.3053	.1175	.1334	.0272	46.8
High	.2481	.0240	.2193	.0189	.1411	.4750	.3243	.1509	.1081	67.8
Low	.0964	.0025	.0842	.0005	.0908	.1851	.0042	.0360	.0020	29.7

Table 10: Index of Femaleness of Employment Status

Territory	Government Employees	Non-Government Employees	Self-Employed With Paid Help	Self-Employed Without Paid Help	Unpaid Workers
Jamaica	.4194	.3568	.2359	.1969	.3391
Trinidad-Tobago	.2344	.2717	.1987	.1316	.2365
Guyana	.2379	.1846	.1613	.1028	.2056
Barbados	.3437	.3983	.4694	.4355	.2233
Belize	.2811	.2051	.0954	.0686	.2762
St. Lucia	.3635	.3711	.3231	.2045	.3687
Grenada	.3881	.3742	.3983	.2461	.5495
St. Vincent	.3776	.3783	.2353	.1441	.4101
Dominica	.3858	.4064	.2780	.2569	.5160
St. Kitts/Nevis	.3878	.3681	.4126	.2888	.6462
Montserrat	.3333	.3604	.3339	.1690	.7833
British Virgin Is.	.3476	.2488	.2231	.2778	.6818
Cayman Islands	.3595	.3606	.2819	.1567	.7037
Turks & Caicos	.3761	.2810	.5000	.2558	.8000
Mean	.3166	.3167	.2312	.1696	.3119
High	.4194	.4064	.5000	.4355	.8000
Low	.2344	.1846	.0954	.0686	.2056

Table 11: Distribution Index of Female Employment Status

Territory	Government Employees	Non-Government Employees	Self-Employed With Paid Help	Self-Employed Without Paid Help	Unpaid Workers
Jamaica	.1669	.5944	.1917	.0290	.0180
Trinidad-Tobago	.2681	.6258	.0724	.0179	.0157
Guyana	.2782	.5446	.1288	.0259	.0226
Barbados	.1542	.7602	.0091	.0713	.0053
Belize	.2467	.5728	.1081	.0177	.0547
St. Lucia	.1560	.5905	.2014	.0316	.0205
Grenada	.2166	.5900	.1342	.0275	.0317
St. Vincent	.2833	.6018	.0821	.0153	.0176
Dominica	.1880	.5991	.1467	.0354	.0309
St. Kitts/Nevis	.1958	.6605	.1029	.0228	.0180
Montserrat	.2218	.5656	.1585	.0183	.0358
British Virgin Is.	.1988	.6435	.0813	.0323	.0441
Cayman Islands	.1444	.7784	.0440	.0174	.0158
Turks & Caicos	.3556	.4828	.1313	.0222	.0081
Mean	.2002	.6126	.1445	.0243	.0184
High	.3556	.7784	.1917	.0713	.0547
Low	.1444	.4828	.0091	.0153	.0053

Table 12: Distribution Index for Females Aged 15-44 According to Union Status

Territory	Married	Common Law	Visiting	No Longer Living With Husband	No Longer Living With Common Law Partner	Never in a Union
Jamaica	26.4	25.7	6.9	1.6	5.7	33.7
Trinidad-Tobago	44.9	12.8	2.0	3.4	2.1	34.9
Guyana	53.5	9.0	2.1	4.2	1.7	29.5
Barbados	29.1	15.6	5.4	2.4	4.4	43.2
Belize	42.7	18.9	3.3	2.3	3.2	29.6
St. Lucia	28.2	19.2	8.3	1.7	4.0	38.8
Grenada	27.8	19.2	7.8	1.9	4.3	39.0
St. Vincent	23.5	20.3	11.0	1.2	4.4	39.7
Dominica	25.8	14.2	12.9	1.6	5.0	40.4
St. Kitts/Nevis	26.0	12.5	9.8	1.8	5.0	44.9
Montserrat	29.3	11.2	7.3	2.0	2.1	48.0
British Virgin Is.	47.5	10.9	5.6	2.2	6.9	26.9
Cayman Islands	58.7	5.7	2.1	4.5	1.3	27.9
Turks & Caicos	49.7	4.3	6.6	3.4	0.6	35.5
Mean	36.3	18.2	4.9	2.5	3.9	34.2
High	58.7	25.7	12.9	4.5	6.9	48.0
Low	23.5	4.3	2.0	1.2	0.6	26.9

Table 13: Proportion of Women (14-64) who are Mothers, by Union Status

Territory	Married	Common Law	Visiting	No Longer Living With Husband	No Longer Living With Common Law Partner	Never in a Union	All Women
Jamaica	.8860	.8924	1.0000	.8580	.9412	.3547	.7506
Trinidad-Tobago	.8883	.8752	1.0000	.8711	.9451	.1311	.6699
Guyana	.8997	.8949	1.0000	.8909	.9540	.1120	.6998
Barbados	.8759	.8939	1.0000	.8522	.9544	.3210	.6910
Belize	.9114	.9132	1.0000	.9024	.9663	.1477	.7181
St. Lucia	.8973	.8952	1.0000	.8745	.9700	.3153	.7113
Grenada	.9016	.9403	1.0000	.8897	.9777	.3587	.7424
St. Vincent	.9112	.9510	1.0000	.8988	.9814	.4061	.7555
Dominica	.9104	.9326	1.0000	.8956	.9906	.3482	.7398
St. Kitts/Nevis	.8775	.9056	1.0000	.8600	.9590	.3832	.7173
Montserrat	.8631	.8764	1.0000	.8782	.9703	.4495	.7169
British Virgin Is.	.8595	.8879	1.0000	.9268	1.0000	.2020	.7336
Cayman Islands	.8599	.9714	1.0000	.8421	.9583	.2071	.7001
Turks & Caicos	.8795	.9048	1.0000	.9048	1.0000	.2879	.7164
Mean	.8906	.8932	1.0000	.8724	.9483	.2586	.7173
High	.9114	.9714	1.0000	.9268	1.0000	.4495	.7555
Low	.8595	.8752	1.0000	.8421	.9412	.1120	.6699

Table 14: Child-Mother Ratios for Various Categories of Women

Territory	Women in Married Unions	Women no Longer Living with Husband	Women in the Work Force	Women Engaged in Home Duties
Jamaica	5.2	4.7	3.7	4.8
Trinidad-Tobago	4.9	4.9	3.9	4.8
Guyana	5.3	5.1	4.5	5.2
Barbados	4.7	4.3	3.9	4.4
Belize	5.6	5.3	4.0	5.4
St. Lucia	6.3	5.7	4.3	5.3
Grenada	5.6	5.4	4.6	4.9
St. Vincent	5.8	5.8	4.9	5.2
Dominica	6.4	6.0	4.5	5.6
St. Kitts/Nevis	5.8	5.1	4.7	5.2
Montserrat	5.1	4.9	3.8	4.8
British Virgin Is.	4.9	5.2	3.7	5.1
Cayman Islands	3.9	3.5	3.3	4.0
Turks & Caicos	5.5	5.6	4.6	5.5
Mean	5.2	4.9	3.9	4.9
High	6.3	6.0	4.9	5.6
Low	3.9	3.5	3.3	4.0

APPENDIX

List of Indicators Proposed for Model

Panel / Sector	Sub-Sector	Indicator No.	Description	Data Source	
I. RESOURCES					
I.1 *Human*	1. Population	1.	Total Population	Population Census	
		2.	Annual Growth Rate	"	"
		3.	Crude Birth Rate	"	"
		4.	Crude Death Rate	"	"
		5.	Sex Ratio of Total Population	"	"
		6.	Sex Ratio of Population 15-44	"	"
		7.	Youth Dependency Ratio	"	"
		8.	Students per 1,000 working population	"	"
		9.	Urban population	"	"
	2. Education	1.	Index of femaleness for enrolment at primary level (5-14)	"	"
		2.	Index of femaleness for enrolment at secondary level (5-19)	"	"
		3.	Index of femaleness of secondary certification (population 15+)	"	"
		4.	Index of femaleness for attainment of University education (population 15+)	"	"
		5.	Index of femaleness of workers with special training	"	"

Continued .../

Panel / Sector	Sub-Sector	Indicator No.	Description	Data Source
	3. Health	1.	Female life expectancy	Registrar General
		2.	Infant mortality rate	" "
		3.	Maternal mortality rate	Ministry of Health
		4.	Rate of mortality due to cancer of the cervix	" " "
		5.	Hospital admissions due to incomplete abortions	" " "
		6.	Access to hospital/health facilities	N.A.
	4. Social Conditions	1.	Degree of poverty	N.A.
		2.	Index of femaleness to extent of poverty	Population Census
		3.	Average household size	" "
		4.	Community child care facilities per thousand children under age 5	Social Welfare Department
		5.	Enrolment ratio of children in public and private nursery schools	N.A.
		6.	Access to family planning services	"
		7.	Access to maternal and child care health facilities	"
		8.	Index of femaleness of single-person households	Population Census
		9.	Proportion of households headed by women	" "

Continued .../

Panel / Sector	Sub-Sector	Indicator No.	Indicator Description	Data Source
		10.	Index of femaleness of employed household heads	Population Census
		11.	Index of dissimilarity of occupations of household heads	" "
		12.	Index of femaleness of household heads with no secondary education	" "
		13.	Proportion of female household heads not in reproductive union	" "
I.2 *Physical*	1. Land	1.	Density of Population	" "
		2.	Arable land area	Agricultural Census
		3.	Arable land per capita	" "
		4.	Index of femaleness in agricultural occupations	Population Census
I.3 *Economic*	1. Patterns of Property Ownership	1.	Proportion of foreign owned property	N.A.
		2.	Proportion of National property owned by government	"
		3.	Proportion of private property owned by individual/family	"
		4.	Index of femaleness of individual/family property ownership by Ethnic group	"
		5.	Index of femaleness of individual/family property ownership by socio-economic group	"

Continued .../

Panel / Sector	Sub-Sector	Indicator No.	Description	Data Source
	2. Performance of Economic Resources	1.	Per capital GNP	Statistical Dept.
		2.	Contribution of agricultural sector to GDP	" "
		3.	Contribution of manufacturing sector to GDP	" "
		4.	Contribution of public sector to GDP	" "
		5.	Proportion of government expenditure devoted to social services	" "
I.4 *Social Mobility*	1. Socio-Economic groupings		[Indicators to be devised]	N.A.
	2. Amount of Mobility		" " " "	"
	3. Extent of Upward Mobility		" " " "	"
	4. Social Stability		" " " "	"
	5. Equality of Opportunity		" " " "	"

Continued .../

Panel / Sector	Sub-Sector	Indicator No.	Description	Data Source
II. STATUS OF WOMEN				
II.1 *Sources of Livelihood*	1. Involvement in Production process	1.	Index of femaleness of employment for wages	Population Census
		2.	Index of femaleness for self-employment	" "
		3.	Index of femaleness in non-agricultural occupations	" "
		4.	Index of dissimilarity of occupations	" "
		5.	Proportion of female workers who attained highest secondary level certification	" "
		6.	Proportion of female workers covered by national insurance schemes	" "
		7.	Index of femaleness of unemployment (15-24 and 25+)	" "
		8.	Proportion of unemployed females registered with employment exchange	" "
		9.	Proportion of housewives who worked during year	" "
		10.	Female income distribution by sector	N.A.
	2. Other Sources of Income	1.	Proportion of women receiving remittances	"
		2.	Proportion of women supported solely by partner	"

Continued .../

Panel / Sector	Sub-Sector	Indicator No.	Description	Data Source
		3.	Proportion of women supported by children	N.A.
		4.	Proportion of women involved in informal savings schemes	"
		5.	Proportion of women engaged in income-generating activity other than paid employment	"
II.2 *Emotional Support*	1. Involvement in Reproductive Unions	1.	Proportion of women (15-44) currently in union	Population Census
		2.	Proportion of women (45-64) currently in union	" "
		3.	Difference in mean age at marriage of males and females	" "
		4.	Proportion of women (15-64) no longer in union	" "
		5.	Proportion of women currently in a union who are employed	" "
		6.	Proportion of women not currently in a union who are employed	" "
	2. Extent of Motherhood	1.	Mean age at birth of first child	" "
		2.	Proportion of reproduction age span spent in childbearing (45-64)	" "
		3.	Proportion of working women are mothers (15-64)	" "

Continued .../

Panel / Sector	Sub-Sector	Indicator No.	Description	Data Source
		4.	Proportion of housewives who are mothers (15-64)	Population Census
		5.	Child-mother ratio for all women (15-64)	" "
		6.	Child-mother ratio for working women (15-64)	" "
		7.	Child-mother ratio for housewives (15-64)	" "
		8.	Child-mother ratio for women currently in a union (15-64)	" "
		9.	Child-mother ratio for women not currently in a union (15-64)	" "
	3. Leisure Activities	1.	Amount of time available for leisure	N.A.
		2.	Frequency of attendance at cinema	"
		3.	Frequency of church attendance	"
		4.	Frequency of contact with relatives	"
		5.	Frequency of contact with friends	"
		6.	Amount of time spent on hobbies	"
		7.	Amount of time spent on leisure activities outside the home	"
	4. Job Satisfaction		[Indicators to be devised]	"

Continued .../

Panel / Sector	Sub-Sector	Indicator No.	Description	Data Source
II.3 *Power and Authority*	1. Familial	1.	Index of female autonomy in decision making	N.A.
		2.	Contribution of female income to total household income	"
	2. Economic	3.	Index of femaleness of administrative and managerial occupations	Population Census
	3. Social Participation	4.	Proportion of women who are members of women's voluntary organizations	" "
		5.	Proportion of women who are members of religious organizations	" "
		6.	Proportion of women workers who are members of trade unions	" "
		7.	Proportion of women who hold office in such groups	" "
	4. Political Participation	1.	Index of femaleness of registered voters	N.A.
		2.	Proportion of females who voted in most recent election	Election Surveys
		3.	Index of femaleness of political party membership	Party Records
		4.	Index of femaleness of participation in party activities	N.A.
		5.	Index of femalenss of office holders in political parties	Party Records

Continued .../

Panel / Sector	Sub-Sector	Indicator No.	Description	Data Source
III. LEGAL PROVISIONS				
III.1 *Age of National Institutions*		1.	Years since constitutional provision of equal rights for women	Legal Records
		2.	Years since attainment of full adult suffrage	" "
		3.	Years since achievement of political independence	" "
		4.	Years since establishment of Women's Bureau/Commission	" "
		5.	Years since legislation granted paid maternity leave	" "

Acknowledgement

Shortened version of a Unesco document SS.80/CONF.620/3 - INDICATORS OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT: A PRELIMINARY METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE CARIBBEAN
(c) Unesco 1980. Reproduced by permission of Unesco.

Footnotes

[1]Of these only three have been described because of the insights which they offer. The approach of the fourth [59], although highly original, was not considered relevant to the present exercise.

[2]The identification of the separate categories requires access to coding manuals which was not possible in the available time.

[3]For reasons of space only female enrolment rates are shown in Table 2.

[4]The Ministry of Health in Barbados reports this as the second and third highest causes of admission to the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in 1976 and 1975 respectively.

[5]These proportions are based on all females who head households including 23.9 per cent for whom union status was not stated. If this group of women is excluded, the proportion in the union categories increases but the ordering remains the same.

[6]Please see [49] for discussion on the applicability of labour force concepts in the context of the Caribbean.

[7]Please see [49].

[8]NLH = no longer living with husband;
NLCLP = no longer living with common law partner;
NH/CLP = never had husband or common law partner.

[9]This arises because of the census definition of visiting unions.

References

[1] ANDREWS, F.M., "Social Indicators and Socio-Economic Development", *Journal of Developing Areas*, Vol. 8 No. 1, October 1973.

[2] BASTER, N., (ed.), *Measuring Development: The Role and Adequacy of Development Indicators*, London: Cass, 1972.

[3] _____, "Introduction", in UNESCO, *The Use of Socio-Economic Indicators in Development Planning*. Paris: UNESCO Press, 1976.

[4] _____, "The Use of Social Indicators in Development Planning: A Case Study of the Sudan", Paper prepared for Meeting of Experts on Indicators of Social ahd Economic Change, Paris, 20-23 April, 1976. (SS.76/WS/16).

[5] BOSERUP, E., *Woman's Role in Economic Development*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1970.

[6] BOULDING, E. et al., *Handbook of International Data on Women*, New York: Wiley, 1976.

[7] BRAITHWAITE, L., *Social Stratification in Trinidad*, Kingston: ISER, UWI. Rp. 1975.

[8] BROOMES, D., (comp.), *Digest of Education Statistics, Barbados*, Cave Hill, UWI, Institute of Education, 1966.

[9] BROWN, A., "Planning as a Political Activity: Some Aspects of the Jamaican Experience", *Social and Economic Studies*, Vol. 24 No. 1, March 1975.

[10] _____ and BREWSTER, H., "A Review of the Study of Economics in the English-Speaking Caribbean", *Social and Economic Studies*, Vol. 23 No. 1, March 1974.

[11] BUVINIĆ, M., *Women and World Development: An Annotated Bibliography*, Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1976.

[12] _____et al., *Women Headed Households: The Ignored Factor in Development Planning*, Washington, D.C.: International Center for Research on Women, 1978.

[13] *Caribbean Resource Book Focusing on Women in Development*, compiled jointly by the Women's Bureau of Jamaica, the Extra-Mural Dept., UWI and the International Women's Tribune Center, New York [Bridgetown: UWI, Extra-Mural Dept., 1978].

[14] CASAL, L. et al. (eds.), *Women in Development: Report of Wingspread Workshop*, Raccine: Johnson Foundation, 1976.

[15] CHANDER, R., "Socio-Economic Indicators and National Policy: Malaysia", paper presented to IDS Conference on Statistical Policy in Less Developed Countries, May 12-16, 1975.

[16] CHANEY, E. et al., "Women in Development", WID/USAID. n.d. (Mimeo).

[17] CHERNICK, S.E., *The Commonwealth Caribbean: The Integration Experience*, Baltimore, published for the World Bank by the Johns Hopkins Press, 1978.

[18] DEMAS, W.G., *Essays on Caribbean Integration and Development*. Kingston: ISER, UWI, 1976.

[19] _____, "The Political Economy of the English Speaking Caribbean: A Summary View", Caribbean Ecumenical Consultation for Development, Study Paper, No. 4, 1971.

[20] DIXON, R., "Measuring Equality Between the Sexes", *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 32 No. 3, 1976.

[21] DRAYTON, K., "The Education of Girls in Barbados", Barbados. National Commission on the Status of Women, *Report: Vol. 2*. Bridgetown: Ministry of the Attorney General, 1978.

[22] DUNCAN, O.D. and DUNCAN, B., "Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratifications", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 60 No. 5, 1955.

[23] ELLIOTT, C., "Four Indicators of Distribution in Zambia: A Dichromic View", in UNESCO, *The Use of Socio-Economic Indicators in Development Planning*. Paris: UNESCO Press, 1976.

[24] EMMANUEL, P., "Social, Economic and Political Indicators of Change in the Caribbean: A Suggested Framework", *Social and Economic Studies*, Vol. 26 No. 3, 1977.

[25] EMMANUEL, P., *General Elections in the Eastern Caribbean: A Handbook*, Cave Hill: ISER, UWI, 1980.

[26] FERRISS, A.L., *Indicators of Trends in the Status of American Women*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1971.

[27] GERMAIN, A., "Poor Rural Women: A Policy Perspective", *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 30 No. 2, Fall/Winter 1976-77.

[28] GOSTKOWSKI, Z. and SOLOMON E., "Human Resources Indicators for the Second Development Decade: Some Preliminary considerations", in Gostkowski, Z. (ed.), *Toward a System of Human Resources Indicators for Less Developed Countries*, Ossotineum, 1972.

[29] GRAHAM, S. and BECKLES, D., "The Prestige Ranking of Occupations", *Social and Economic Studies*, Vol. 17 No. 4, December 1978.

[30] _____, and GORDON, D., *The Stratification System and Occupational Mobility in Guyana*, Kingston: ISER, UWI, 1977.

[31] GREENE, E. and BARROW, C., *Small Business in Barbados: a Case for Survival*. Cave Hill: ISER, UWI, 1980

[32] GROSS, E., "Plus ca change...? The Sexual Structure of Occupations over Time", *Social Problems*, 16 Fall 1968.

[33] HAREWOOD, J., "An Evaluation of the Demographic Statistics of the Commonwealth Caribbean", paper prepared for U.N. Population Division. n.d. (Mimeo).

[34] HEER, D. and YOUSSEF, N., "Female Status among Soviet Central Asian Nationalities: the Melding of Islam and Marxism and its Implications for Population Increase", *Population Studies*, Vol. 31 No. 1, March 1977.

[35] HOLDER, J., "Physical Health", Barbados, National Commission on the Status of Women, *Report: Vol. 2*. Bridgetown: Ministry of the Attorney General, 1978.

[36] ILYINA, K.G., "The participation of women in the economic activities in the Soviet Union", *Proceedings of the World Population Conference, 1965. Vol. IV*, New York: United Nations, 1967.

[37] LAND, K.C. and SPILERMAN, S., (eds.), *Social Indicator Models*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1975.

[38] LEWIS, V., (ed.), *Size, Self-Determination and International Relations: the Caribbean*, Kingston: ISER, UWI, 1976.

[39] LYNCH, E., "The Education of Women in Barbados", Barbados, National Commission on the Status of Women, *Report: Vol. 2*. Bridgetown: Ministry of the Attorney General, 1978.

[40] MASSIAH, J., "The Status of Women in Barbados: Some Considerations", *Bulletin of Eastern Caribbean Affairs*, Vol. 2 No. 9, 1976.

[41] _____, "Women in Barbados: Some Demographic Aspects of their Employment", National Commission on the Status of Women, *Report: Vol. 2*. Bridgetown: Ministry of the Attorney General, 1978.

[42] _____, *Women in the Caribbean: An Annotated Bibliography*, Cave Hill: ISER, UWI, 1979.

[43] MATHURIN, L., *A Historical Study of Women in Jamaica from 1655-1884*. Ph.D Thesis, UWI, 1974.

[44] NASH, June, "Women in Development: Dependency and Exploitation", *Development and Change*, 80, 1977.

[45] ONYEMELUKWE, J.O.C., "Socio-Economic Indicators for Development Planning in Africa" paper prepared for UNESCO Regional Seminar on the Applicability of Socio-Economic Indicators in Analysis and Planning in Africa, Ligon, Ghana December 5-9, 1977. (SS.77/CONF.701/6).

[46] PAPANEK, H., "Family Status Production: the 'Work' and 'Non-Work' of Women", *Signs*, Vol. 4 No. 4, 1979.

[47] RAO, M.V.S., "Socio-Economic Indicators for Development Planning", in UNESCO, *The Use of Socio-Economic Indicators in Development Planning*, Paris: UNESCO Press, 1976.

[48] RIHANI, M., *Development as if Women Mattered: An Annotated Bibliography with a Third World Focus*, Washington, D.C.: Secretariat for Women in Development, New Trans-century Foundation, 1978.

[49] ROBERTS, G.W., "The Working Force of the Commonwealth Caribbean at 1970", paper prepared for Seminar on Manpower Planning, Caribbean Development Bank, Grenada, April 1974.

[50] _____, *Fertility and Mating in Four West Indian Populations*, Kingston: ISER, UWI, 1975.

[51] _____, "Some Issues in the Study of Small Populations", in Kosinski, L. and Webb, L., (eds.), *Population at Microscale*, Palmerston North, Commission on Population Geography, New Zealand Geographical Society, 1976.

[52] _____, "Family Unions in the West Indies and some of their Implications", Bruges, IUSSP Committee on Comparative Analysis of Fertility, 1979

[53] _____, *Recent Population Movements in Jamaica*, Paris: CICRED, 1974.

[54] _____ and SINCLAIR, S., *Women in Jamaica: Patterns of Reproduction and Family*, New York: KTO Press, 1978.

[55] _____, "Family Life Cycle Indicators for the West Indian Family: Preliminary Approach", Geneva: WHO Project on Family Life Cycle Methodology, 1978.

[56] SANDAY, P., "Towards a Theory of the Status of Women", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 75 No. 5, 1973.

[57] SMITH, R.T., "Social Stratification in the Caribbean", in Plotnicov, L. and Tuden, A., (eds.), *Essays in Comparative Social Stratification*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1970.

[58] _____, "Introduction", in Graham, S. and Gordon, D., *The Stratification System and Occupational Mobility in Guyana*, Kingston: ISER, UWI, 1977.

[59] STEIHM, J., "Measuring Women's Power", paper presented at Conference on Women and Development, Wellesley College, June 2-6, 1976.

[60] STONE, C., *Electoral Behaviour and Public Opinion in Jamaica*, Kingston: ISER, UWI, 1974.

[61] SYMMONDS, P., "Education", Barbados. National Commission on the Status of Women, *Report: Vol. 2*. Bridgetown: Ministry of the Attorney General, 1978.

[62] TABORGA, M., "The Use of Social Indicators as a Guide in Development Policies: A Chilean Application", paper presented to UNESCO Expert Meeting on the Applicability of Socio-Economic Indicators to Development Planning in Latin America, Montevideo, December 13-16, 1976. (SS.76/Conf.628/6).

[63] TAYLOR, C.L. and HUDSON, M.C., *World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1972.

[64] TINKER, I. and BRAMSEN, M.B., *Women and World Development*, Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1976.

[65] TRINIDAD-TOBAGO: Central Statistical Office, *Economic Indicators Report, 1974*. Port of Spain, 1974.

[66] _____, *Social Indicators*, Port of Spain, 1975.

[67] UNITED NATIONS. Economic Commission for Latin America. Office for the Caribbean, *Economic Activity in Caribbean Countries, 1977*. Port of Spain, 1978. (CEPAL/CARIB.78/4).

[68] _____, *Report of Joint CEPAL/CDCC/UNESCO Workshop on the Application of Socio-Economic Indicators to Development Planning in the* Caribbean. Port of Spain, 1978. (CEPAL/CDCC/45).

[69] UNITED NATIONS, *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year, Mexico City, June 19 to July 2, 1975*. New York: United Nations, 1976.

[70] *West Indies and Caribbean Yearbook 1977/78*, Toronto: Caribook Ltd. 1979.

[71] YEH, S., "The Use of Social Indicators in Development Planning", in UNESCO, *The Use of Socio-Economic Indicators in Development Planning*, Paris: UNESCO Press, 1976.

[72] YOUNG, R.C., "The Structural Context of Caribbean Agriculture: A Comparative Study, *Journal of Developing Areas*, Vol. 10 No. 4, July 1976.

[73] _____, The Structural Context of the Caribbean Tourist Industry: A Comparative Study," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 25 No. 4, July 1977.

[74] ZEIDENSTEIN, G., "Including Women in Development Efforts", New York: The Population Council, 1978.

Women and Work

The papers in this volume set out to provide a theoretical perspective and a methodological framework for the study of Caribbean women and the wider study of women in development. In her "Indicators of Women in Development", Joycelin Massiah proposes "a framework for collecting indicators which could conceivably illuminate the variety of life situations in which Caribbean women are involved" and provides data for this purpose. Margaret Gill in "Women, Work and Development" argues that cultural factors are of crucial importance in determining women's role and status. As Pat Anderson notes in her introductory essay, "while the papers in this volume are offered as exploratory work, they raise a wide range of issues which must be addressed in the study of the position of women in Caribbean society".

The Contributors

Patricia Anderson is a Research Fellow at the Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica.

Margaret Gill is a post-graduate student at the University of Florida, Gainesville.

Joycelin Massiah is Deputy Director, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, Cave Hill, Barbados and Regional Coordinator of the Women in the Caribbean Project.

Institute of Social and Economic Research
(Eastern Caribbean)

University of the West Indies
Cave Hill, Barbados

BEST COPY AVAILABLE